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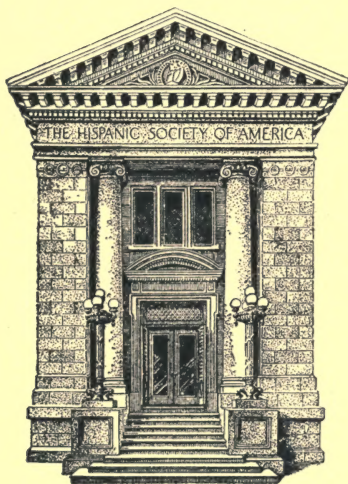
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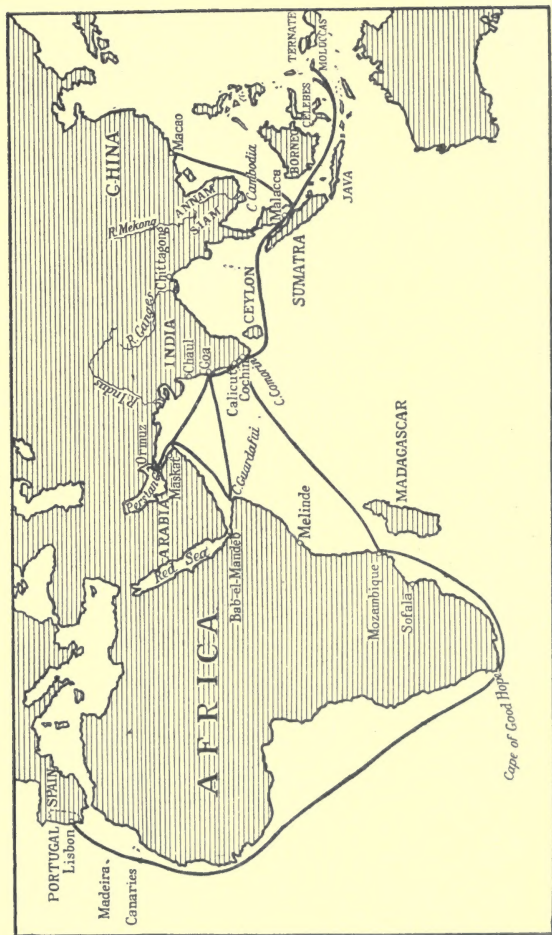
HISPANIC

NOTES & MONOGRAPHS

ESSAYS, STUDIES, AND BRIEF
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LUIS DE CAMÕES

BY

AUBREY F. G. BELL




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CONTENTS

	PAGE
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE	vii
I. EARLY YEARS	I
II. AT LISBON	14
III. IN INDIA	33
IV. LAST YEARS	59
V. CHARACTER	67
VI. THE LUSIADS	75
VII. CAMÕES AS LYRIC AND DRAMA- TIC POET	96
NOTES	107
INDEX	151
MAP	<i>Frontispiece</i>



P R E F A C E

vii

P R E F A C E

ALTHOUGH Camões is the Portuguese poet best known to fame, it is doubtful if he has been widely read outside Portugal. Englishmen know, of course, that he was praised by Byron, and that he soothed an exile's grief with sonnets (1). To most lovers of literature he is a splendid name, but they perhaps suspect that his poetry is rather dull and that he is a second-rate Petrarca or Garci Lasso, who attempted an academic exercise in epic poetry out of its due time. If Virgil as an epic poet is so greatly inferior to Homer, what can we expect of an epic in the sixteenth century, in full Renaissance? Curious as these views may seem to those who have read Camões in the original, it must be admitted that there are a good many

H I S P A N I C N O T E S

IV

reasons for his neglect. In the first place, three and a half centuries after his death there is no good text of his poems. That of Juromenha, published in six large volumes in 1860-9, is the best (to this edition the references in this volume are made: thus, iv. 21 means *Obras de Luiz de Camões*, ed. Visconde de Juromenha, vol. iv, p. 21), but it is not a critical text and, moreover, about one-fifth of the whole consists of poems falsely attributed to Camões, including a verse translation and prose commentary of Petrarca's *Trionfi*. It is not always easy to discriminate between the genuine and the false, since the poetry known to have been written by Camões is of unequal merit, and we cannot reject a poem simply on the score of its being inferior to his masterpieces. Camões has suffered from indiscreet admirers, and the poison of Faria e Sousa still works. In order to swell Camões' poetry at the expense of other writers, and sometimes to pass off verses of his own as the work of the master, he added largely to the

bulk of Camões' compositions, and to the troubles of subsequent critics. This was treachery indeed, and Camões has also been betrayed by his translators. The only satisfactory version of the whole of his works is that by Dr. Wilhelm Storck (6 vols., Paderborn, 1880-5), with important notes and distinction between the genuine and apocryphal poems. The first English translation of the *Lusiads*, by Sir Richard Fanshawe (1655), appeared three-quarters of a century after the poet's death. In the following century came William Julius Mickle's version (1776) in heroic couplets, with a life of Camões, and in the nineteenth century those of Musgrave (1826) in blank verse, Quillinan (the first five books, 1853), Mitchell (1854), Aubertin (1872; 2nd ed., 2 vols., 1884), Duff (1880), and Burton (1880). Burton made a fine poem out of his translation, but it has perhaps as much of himself as of Camões. A few years later he published 'The Lyrics' (Sonnets, Canzons, Odes, and Sextines), 2 vols., 1884.

Aubertin's translation of seventy of the sonnets appeared in 1881.

The same uncertainty that surrounds the text of Camões obscures his life, 'one of the most romantic and adventurous of an age of adventure and romance' (2). Fate heaped misfortunes on Camões, and biographers, to whom genius in adversity is always a fruitful subject, have outdone fate. They afflict him with a stepmother, a cruel nurse, many venomous enemies, a banishment from Coimbra, two or three banishments from Lisbon, arrest at Macao, at Malacca, at Mozambique, two or three imprisonments at Goa, two shipwrecks. He has had to endure, moreover, the thunders of erudition. If he falls head over ears in love with a girl all gold and white at Coimbra, the critics bear down upon him with Petrarca, Plato, Aristotle, and Juda Abrabanel. *Vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus* stand the voluminous and confused works of the Portuguese critic, Dr. Theophilo Braga, as liable to divert sympathy from Camões

P R E F A C E

xi

as are the unpleasing portraits of the poet that grace the walls of Portuguese inns. His life has, in fact, been as uncritically treated as his poetry. Fantastic biographical edifices have been reared on the flimsiest foundations. The known facts are few, the myths and traditions many, and historians, naturally anxious to fix the facts and crystallize the traditions, have found themselves in a quandary. Their necessity has been the mother of much invention. Here, again, the enthusiastic and unscrupulous Faria e Sousa has been a stumbling-block, and hypotheses put forward by one generation have been accepted as facts by the next, or they have even grown from conjecture to certainty in the pages of one book. A complete life has thus gradually grown up after painstaking researches by scores of scholars, but, as we shall see, there are very few points at which it is not founded on hypothesis. It has been the object of the present study to deal in hypotheses as little as possible, but it is not possible to

A N D M O N O G R A P H S

IV

exclude them altogether. To do so would be to reduce Camões' biography to little more than six words: 'He loved and sang and suffered', or, to quote Mariz, 'viveo miseravelmente e morreo quasi ao des-emparo'. On the other hand, by multiplying may-have-beens it is possible to write huge volumes about his life. Possibly, however, the reader will prefer to any such padding, however apposite, a free hand to supply for himself the atmosphere in which Camões lived. If he wishes to realize what life in the town of Coimbra was like when Camões may have studied and certainly lived there, he may read Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos' *Eufrosina* (c. 1540); of Court life at Lisbon in the middle of the sixteenth century, just before Camões left for India, he will find an excellent account in the same author's *Aulegrafia* (1555?); for the views of a veteran soldier after his return from the East there are Couto's *Dialogo do Soldado Pratico* and *Dialogo do Soldado Pratico Portugues*. Couto's *Decadas* cover the

period (1553-70) of Camões' sojourn in the East and, with the slightly earlier *Lendas* of Corrêa, the *Peregrinação* of Mendez Pinto, and Rodriguez Silveira's *Memorias de um Soldado da India*, provide an amazing wealth and variety of matter for reconstructing the life of a soldier and official at this time in India. Castanheda's *Historia*, Barros' *Decadas*, Albuquerque's *Cartas*, although they cover the earlier period 1500-40, are also very instructive. Linschoten (*Voyages to the East Indies*, 2 vols., London, 1885) was in India a year after Camões' death, Mocquet (*Voyage en Afrique, &c.*, Rouen, 1640) and Pyrard (*Voyages*, Paris, 1669) about a quarter of a century later.

Probably the critics will dispute over many points of Camões' life till the end of time, and if they are honest they will conclude with the line of an older poet, Bernardim Ribeiro: *Nam é para afirmar*, there is no certainty. It is better to sit on the fence of uncertainty than to be swallowed by the shifting quicksands

provided by the positiveness of biographers. An honest interrogation mark must still—to take but one instance—be affixed to the year 1524 as that of Camões' birth, although it is satisfactory to find all critics now agreeing that this is the probable date. The reliable sources for Camões' life are not many, but from time to time a new document or manuscript is discovered, and it will be long before a definitive account can be written. Two manuscript passages just unearthed (see notes 8 and 85) necessitate a reconsideration of several important points. The first passage proves that the Bento de Camões related to the poet was not the powerful Prior of Santa Cruz at Coimbra, but an obscure canon who lived at that college later and was not an uncle but a distant cousin of Luis. The second passage is likely to be much discussed. It purports to be from the original stolen Eighth Decad of Couto, of which we have in print only Couto's later version. The question of its authenticity has to be considered, as well as the in-

herent probability of the facts which it chronicles. Camões' fame had grown rapidly in the thirty years after his death, and Couto, who had known him personally and assisted him in his poverty, may well have wished to display his acquaintance with incidents of the poet's life. If so, writing in old age, he seems to have relied less on his memory than on his knowledge of Camões' works. He tells us that he and Camões were intimate friends and studied together in Portugal. Couto was only eleven when Camões left Portugal for India ; he studied, for a few years only, at Lisbon, in the College of the Jesuits, and with Frei Bartholomeu dos Martyres, and, if we accept the year 1524, he was eighteen years Camões' junior. He further tells us that when returning from China, whither he had gone as Trustee for the Dead, a post given him by Francisco Barreto, Camões was shipwrecked off the coast of Siam, and that the Dinamene of his sonnets was a very beautiful Chinese girl whom he was bringing back with him

and who was drowned in this shipwreck. To her, according to this passage, Camões wrote the famous sonnet *Alma minha gentil*. Now this seems just what a reader of the sonnets might deduce. The Dinamene or drowning sonnets are singularly beautiful, and are with *Alma minha gentil* (faintly recalled to the reader's mind by No. 23, *Cara minha inimiga*, and No. 170, *Ah minha Dinamene*) and a few others the most beautiful of all Camões' sonnets. They tell us plainly that Nise or Dinamene was drowned and that the poet bewailed her absence on a shore of the Indian Ocean. Since a stanza of the *Lusiads* states that he was shipwrecked near the river Mekong, the hypothetical biographer might easily infer that the term Indian Ocean had been used with poetic vagueness. But, if Dinamene was drowned near the river Mekong, she must have been returning with the poet from Macao, and might therefore be considered Chinese. It is very probable that the *moça china* will have to be dismissed, with the Javanese

P R E F A C E

xvii

slave, from serious biographies of the poet.

As early as 1574 Magalhães de Gandavo spoke of Camões as 'our famous poet'; other men of letters had known him well, yet it was over a quarter of a century after his death before a few words of biography appeared in the 1607 edition (one of the 1607 editions) of the *Rimas* in the dedication written by its publisher Domingos Fernandez. The two principal early authorities on Camões' life—the commentary to the 1613 edition of the *Lusiads* by Manuel Corrêa, and the short biography by Pedro de Mariz in the same edition—unhappily convey an impression of ignorance eked out with conjecture and study of Camões' works, although both writers professed to have first-hand information. Manuel Severim de Faria (or de Faria Severim), a scholarly and reliable author, eleven years later in his *Life of Camões*, printed in *Discursos varios politicos* (1624), had but little new to add. Faria e Sousa in his two lives (3) of the poet had too much

'A N D M O N O G R A P H S

IV

new to add, and, valuable as his information occasionally is, it is too often misleading or obviously false. In modern times some fresh light was thrown on Camões by the studies of the Morgado de Matheus and the Bishop of Viseu, but the foundations for a more critical biography were laid by the Visconde de Juromenha, who discovered and published important official documents. Besides these sixteen documents, printed in the 1860 edition of Camões' works, vol. i, pp. 165-73 [A-L], and vol. v, pp. 311-19 [M-P], of which six [A, B, M-P] refer to Simão Vaz de Camões, not, as Juromenha believed, the poet's father but the poet's contemporary and distant cousin, we have less definite but vitally important sources in Camões' autobiographical *canção* (*Vinde cá*), the elegy (cf. *Lusiads* V) describing his voyage to India, passages in the *Lusiads* (especially I. 6-18, V. 92-100, VII. 78-87, and X. 9, 128, and 145-56), and numerous allusions scattered through the plays and lyrics, which unfortunately often admit of

P R E F A C E

xix

many interpretations, besides a prose letter from India (*Desejei tanto*) and another from Africa (*Esta vae*) (4); and we have the early indispensable but unreliable biographers and the passages in Couto's *Decadas*, as well as the new Couto MS. In the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth century three enthusiasts, German, Portuguese, and English, working on the new material provided by Juromenha, raised three separate monuments to the genius of Camões. Dr. Braga proceeded, as usual, by provisional stages, in a series of volumes full of ingenious hypotheses and suggestions. Sir Richard Burton's *Life* still contains matter of value owing to its author's acquaintance with the East. To Dr. Wilhelm Storck all lovers of Camões are under a debt of gratitude, since, although some of the conclusions of his *Life* were always unacceptable and others have been overthrown by later research, he honestly and thoroughly probed the whole ground, carefully distinguished between

A N D M O N O G R A P H S

IV

fact and hypothesis, and made a scholarly use of a wider range of authorities than had hitherto been brought to bear on Camões' life. To Storck's Life much important matter was added in her Portuguese translation by D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, and the same great authority, in articles in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, *Circulo Camoniano*, and elsewhere, has furnished invaluable matter for Camões' biography and for the future critical edition of his works. A critical edition of the *Lusiads* by the late Epiphânio da Silva Dias appeared in 1910, and Dr. José Maria Rodrigues has contributed largely towards the interpretation of the text in his *Fontes dos Lusiadas* and in the facsimile of the first edition of the *Lusiads*, published by the Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional in 1921. It is impossible to give here even an outline of the bibliography of Camões. The reader must be referred to the elaborate works of Dr. Joaquim de Vasconcellos, *Bibliographia Camoniana* (Porto, 1880), and Dr.

Theophilo Braga, *Bibliographia Camoniana* (Lisboa, 1880), and to volumes v, xiv, and xv of Innocencio da Silva's *Diccionario Bibliographico*. A brief outline of the bibliography will be found in *Portuguese Bibliography* (1922), published in this series. Here it is only possible to name the more important editions and essential works of reference.

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P R E F A C E

xxix

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A N D M O N O G R A P H S

IV

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LUIS DE CAMÕES

I

AT the beginning of the sixteenth century the family of Camões (5), with branches at Coimbra and Evora, had been established in Portugal for upwards of a century and a half. It traced its descent from Vasco Perez de Camões, who belonged to a landed Galician family near Finisterre, that remote district inhabited successively by so many different races. Vasco Perez de Camões was a partisan of King Pedro the Cruel, and on his defeat and death at Montiel (1369) he fled to Portugal, where he played a prominent part in war and peace as soldier, courtier, and poet (6). In 1385 he took the part of Queen Lianor and of Castille, and after 1386 his name disappears from the chronicles. His son, João, settled at Coimbra and was buried in its cathedral. Antão Vaz de Camões, his son, married

D. Guiomar Vaz da Gama, of the Gamas of Algarve, to which family the famous Vasco da Gama (1460?-1524) belonged, and apparently continued to reside at Coimbra, where his son, Simão Vaz de Camões, was born in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. According to the chronicle of Frei Nicolau de Santa Maria (7) a younger brother of Simão, Bento, became Prior (1539-41) of Santa Cruz at Coimbra, and this relationship has in the biographies, especially those of Dr. Braga and Dr. Storck, played an important part in the poet's early life. It appears, however, from a passage recently studied by Snr. Pedro de Azevedo in a manuscript work by Frei Gabriel de Santa Maria, that Frei Nicolau de Santa Maria confused a humble canon († 1605) of Santa Cruz with the well-known Prior († 1547), who probably did not belong to the family of Camões (8). The canon, who died at an advanced age, must have been of about the same age as Luis Vaz de Camões, son of Simão Vaz de Camões, and Anna de Macedo (or Anna de Macedo

e Sá or Anna de Sá e Macedo), who was apparently their only child (9) and was born in the first third of the sixteenth century. The canon Bento was a distant cousin of the poet's, belonging to the Coimbra branch of the Camões, one of the principal families of that city, and brother of Simão Vaz de Camões (homonym of the poet's father) who was still alive in 1576. It is possible that the last-named cousin, Simão Vaz, may have played in the poet's life the important part hitherto assigned by the biographers to D. Bento. Neither the year nor the place of the poet's birth are known with certainty. The claim of Santarem was put forward by Faria e Sousa, but without surer ground than that of Alenquer. The latter claim is confirmed by Camões' words, *patria minha Alenquer*, when taken out of their context. When the whole sonnet (10) in which they occur is read, we find that the writer (Camões in the name of a dead friend, Pero Moniz) dies in the fourth line without attaining the age of twenty-five

and in the twelfth line is eaten by fishes. The two other cities claiming to be Camões' birthplace are Lisbon and Coimbra. Two early and contemporary statements are in direct opposition. In 1607 Domingos Fernandez, bookseller to the University of Coimbra, declares in his edition of the *Rimas* that Camões was born at Coimbra (11). In 1613 Manuel Corrêa declares that Camões was born at Lisbon, of noble parentage (12). Of his mother, Anna de Macedo, we are told that she belonged to a well-known family of Santarem; we are not sure, even, that she was born or had ever lived there. His father was a poor gentleman, *cavaleiro fidalgo*, who went out to India as captain of a ship, was wrecked off Goa, escaped on a plank, and died at Goa. Pedro de Mariz, to whom we owe these details (13), says that Camões' father was 'born in this city', which carries us no farther, because, although the book in which the words were printed was published at Lisbon, Mariz himself was a native of Coimbra, son of the printer

Antonio. With Coimbra, we know, Camões' family was connected, and although during the last quarter of a century Lisbon had been attracting a large immigration from the provinces, it is permissible to deduce from the combined facts of Camões' known poverty, and his sojourn at Coimbra and classical learning, that he was born there and was not merely sent thither from Lisbon to study at the famous university, which was finally fixed at Coimbra in 1537. If we accept the statement in the Couto MS., that Camões and Couto studied together, it might, however, turn the balance in favour of Lisbon. Domingos Fernandez says that Camões lived at Coimbra *for many years* and studied there for a few. A passage in Severim de Faria's Life supports this (14). It is possible that he was a fellow-student with his cousin Bento at the celebrated Collegio de Santa Cruz, where the students were expected to converse in Latin or Greek. The little that is known of his early years is based on no documents and

has to be inferred from his poems. The date for his birth now commonly accepted is 1524 (the year of Ronsard's birth and Vasco da Gama's death). We know for certain that he was a youth (*um mancebo*) in 1553 (15); if we may believe Faria e Sousa he was twenty-five in 1550 (16). In a passage of the *Lusiads* (x. 9) Camões, referring to himself, says:

Vão os annos decendo e ja do Estio
Ha pouco que passar até o Otono.

When were these words written? Diogo do Couto tells us that in the winter of 1569, that is the months before November of that year, Camões at Mozambique put the finishing touches to the *Lusiads* with a view to printing it on his return to Lisbon. In writing these lines Camões no doubt had a passage of King Duarte's *Leal Conselheiro* in mind. According to King Duarte man's years *vão decendo* at forty-two (17). Perhaps it was an inference from this which caused Manuel Corrêa to state that Camões was over forty (18) when *Lusiads* x. 9 was written. He says further

that summer meant the age of 25 to 50, when autumn begins. If the poet had reached autumn he would have been born in or before 1519, but he says he has a little of summer left. By little he would certainly not mean one of King Duarte's periods of seven years; it must be taken to imply five years or less, and this brings us to 1524 as a possible date. Faria e Sousa's document, by which Camões, being twenty-five in 1550, was born in 1524 or 1525, has been demolished with such convincing arguments by Dr. Storck (19) that future biographers will with difficulty accept it as genuine. The German critic's attempt to reconstruct the story of the poet's infancy was not crowned with equal success (20). In his magnificent *canção* (*Vinde cá*) Camões says:

Quando vim da materna sepultura
De novo ao mundo, logo me fizeram
Estrellas infelices obrigado,
Com ter livre alvedrio m'ó não deram.

Dr. Storck takes the whole poem most literally and arrives at the conclusion that

Anna de Macedo, the poet's mother, died at his birth. Certainly Camões in this poem is recording his past life, but he is also writing as a poet and a lover, and careful study of the forty lines *Quando vim —o poder da natureza* can only obtain the following sense: in his very infancy he drank love's poison, his will bound captive by the blind god, who wounded him as soon as he opened his eyes (21). The words *Foi minha ama hũa fera* and the *humana fera tam fermosa, suave e venenosa* (22) a few lines lower down refer to the same recollection: the form that love first assumed in his eyes. If any more definite meaning is to be extracted from the passage it must be at the most that his childhood was unhappy, as we infer from the verses *Sepa quien padece*, in which Sadness is figuratively called his nurse (23). One might explain his unhappy childhood by poverty, the early death of his father, and the remarriage of his mother, as plausibly as by the death of his mother and the presence of an unkind

nurse. The phrase *materna sepultura*, the metaphorical use of which accords well with Camões' style, cannot stand for a moment against documents which prove that Camões' mother survived him (24). That she is called in these documents Anna de Sá, not Anna de Macedo, is scarcely an objection. D. Lianor de Albuquerque, for instance, the lovely daughter of D. Garcia de Sá and wife of Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda, is also called D. Lianor de Sá and D. Lianor de Sousa. As to the nurse, if in a letter addressed to a boon-companion, such as that written after his arrival in India, Camões had declared that 'my nurse was a brute', we should have been sorry for it, but we should have accepted the statement; but that one of the world's greatest poets in one of his noblest poems should make such a remark is a sheer impossibility. We must translate 'A wild beast (Love) nurtured me.' It is, however, unnecessary to fall here into another extreme and imagine, with Dr. Braga, that Camões was brought

up like Romulus and Remus. He is merely saying and repeating that from infancy he was of Love's train. However sad his childhood, it is pleasant to think of Camões growing up in the charming university town set in some of the most lovely and romantic scenery in Europe. Nothing, indeed, better exemplifies his poetry than the transparent flow of the Mondego and the exquisitely delicate lines of the neighbouring hills. Of Camões' student days at Coimbra, if, as seems likely, he studied there at the Collegio de Santa Cruz, or more probably at the University after it had incorporated the Collegio, we have nothing but hypothesis. Without hypothesis we can only place Camões in Coimbra. In a lovely *canção*, written evidently when he was leaving Coimbra, he speaks of his joyful, contented life in this *florida terra* (25). Wherever he may have studied, he plainly studied to some purpose and drank deeply at the wells of knowledge. Tasso spoke of him as *dotto*; he has,

says Mickle (26), 'an intimacy with the classics equal to that of Scaliger, but directed by the taste of a Milton or a Pope'. The deep acquaintance with history, literature, and the classics displayed by his works could not have been acquired during his later chequered career, and during his youth could have been acquired most easily at what Nicolaus Clenardus († 1542) called a second Athens, the University of Coimbra. Camões had a thorough knowledge of Latin, wrote Spanish with ease (27), read Italian and perhaps Greek. Juromenha (i. 22), followed in this by Ramalho Ortigão, suggests that he may have been introduced to Chaucer and English literature by George Buchanan, who was a Professor at Coimbra. Camões' poetry, however, betrays no sign of a knowledge of English. The similarity of the situation in *Filodemo* to that in *The Winter's Tale* is interesting because a resemblance between *The Winter's Tale* and Gil Vicente's *Comedia de Rubena* has also been noticed,

so that some common source suggests itself. *Filodemo* was of course written before Shakespeare's play and before Robert Greene's *Pandosto*. It is usually considered Camões' first play, but it seems probable that *Os Amphytryões* was written even earlier and played at Coimbra shortly after 1540, at about the same time as Jorge Ferreira's *Eufrosina*, and possibly Ghiado's *Pratica de Oito Figuras* (1543?), and a year or two before Antonio Ferreira's *Bristo*, which, says its author, was preceded at Coimbra by other plays that excelled or rivalled those of the ancients (28). Camões may well have acted in some of these plays (29). The *Amphitruo* of Plautus had been translated into Spanish in 1515 by Francisco Lopez de Villalobos and imitated in 1525 by Hernan Perez de Oliva. These were Camões' happiest years and here, at Coimbra, he fell in love, perhaps with a lady of the Court during one of its temporary sojourns there. More probably she lived permanently at Coimbra, and the *vida ausente* of the poem *Vinde ca*

would then refer to the poet's absence from that city. Those who dismiss the love recorded in the poem *Vão as serenas agoas* as a passing inclination of his boyhood can hardly have appreciated the depth of feeling and the maturity of this wonderful *canção* in which he sings of the *testa de neve e de ouro* so often celebrated in subsequent lyrics, and it is difficult to believe that it was composed when the author was only eighteen.

II

THE year 1542 is usually considered that in which Camões left Coimbra for Lisbon. One of the chief elements in the calculation of dates for this period of his life is his remark, in the letter *Desejei tanto*, that when he left Lisbon for India in March 1553 he had undergone 3,000 days of gossip, slander, and ill-will. As this must refer to his stay at Lisbon, the biographers have conscientiously subtracted about a year for his banishment in the Ribatejo and two years for his service in North Africa, so that the eight years or 3,000 days would indicate 1542 as the date of his arrival at Lisbon. But it is really doubtful whether the poet would be so meticulous. By 'over 3,000 days' he must have meant the eight years or so since he had left the quiet of his beloved

Coimbra, the *saudosos campos do Mondego*, and gone forth into the world. The *olhar sereno* and *gesto delicado* as well as the *saudosos campos* held him captive, but for those unblessed with this world's goods it had become essential in the sixteenth century to repair to Lisbon in search of a career, and thither, perhaps in 1545, at the age of twenty-one (Miguel Leitão de Andrade was twenty-three when he left Coimbra in 1578), Camões now turned, leaving his heart and perhaps his home behind him, and saying good-bye to many friends, including his cousins Bento and Simão Vaz de Camões. His relations with the latter, who was, like himself, a *cavaleiro fidalgo*, were probably resumed a few years later. Simão Vaz became a special favourite of the young Prince João (1537-54), so devoted a patron of letters. The prince was only eight in 1545, so that, whatever hopes his intimacy with Simão Vaz may have raised in the poet's mind later, it could hardly have begun early enough to assist him on his first arrival at

Lisbon or to introduce him at Court. That even towards the end of the prince's life Simão Vaz did not live permanently at Lisbon is proved by the fact that, when arrested at Lisbon for an offence committed at Coimbra, he had come thither on business from Coimbra (30). June 15, 1553, is not the date of his arrest, but the date of the document giving the reason of his arrest, a very different matter. The offence alleged in this document—breaking into the convent of Santa Anna at Coimbra—may have been committed considerably earlier. Weavers of hypothesis might even infer that Simão Vaz, relying on the prince's favour, was making a last effort on behalf of the poet to communicate with the *testa de neve e de ouro* at Coimbra. It is curious that Simão Vaz should in June 1553 be confined in the Lisbon prison which his cousin Luis had left but three months earlier. The poet's imprisonment, however, brings us to one of the solid facts of his biography, and we are first confronted with a whole series of

more or less plausible suppositions and traditions. Dr Storck believes that he left Coimbra in 1542 and became tutor to the young D. Antonio de Noronha, son of the second Conde de Linhares, that D. Francisco de Noronha who, as Ambassador in France, had Francisco de Moraes, the author of *Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, on his staff and married into the literary family of the Treasurer of João III, his young wife, D. Violante, being sister of the historian Francisco de Andrade and of the mystic Frei Thomé de Jesus. This connexion with the Noronhas would bring Camões into relations with prominent men of letters as well as with the great families of the Court. There is no evidence in favour of the theory, in itself plausible enough, except the fact that Camões knew and liked D. Antonio de Noronha, one of the most promising young men of the day, and mourned his early death in North Africa in sonnet and eclogue. This acquaintance, however, can be easily explained by the well-known fact that

D. Antonio was another favourite of the young Prince João. The biographers who bring Camões to Lisbon in 1542 and place his first exile in 1549 have nothing with which to fill these seven long years. Camões spends them instilling wisdom into that precocious youth D. Antonio, precocious even for that time (his mother married when she was twelve) if he began studying under Camões in 1542: he was only seventeen when killed at Ceuta on April 18, 1553. Others place Camões' exile earlier, and believe that he returned to, not left, Lisbon in 1549, and, although we can here merely choose among hypotheses, the latter chronology seems the more probable. Whether Camões was actually introduced at Court or not, it is clear that he would be so far admitted to the palace as to watch the doings of the inner circle after the fashion of the young *fidalgos* in Jorge Ferreira's *Aulegrafia*, one of whom so singularly reminds the reader of Luis de Camões. When he first arrived in Lisbon he would, as *cavaleiro fidalgo*,

have friends in the capital and would find there old Coimbra acquaintances ; but he obtained no immediate employment. After two years' service in Africa—the common preliminary in the career of young men of the Court—his prospects would be brighter, and when he found his cousin in great favour with the Prince his hopes rose high ; far from having any intention of embarking for India in 1550, as Faria e Sousa alleged, he threw discretion to the winds, vehemently pressed his suit, associated with rowdy companions, and found himself in prison and his career ruined in June 1552. But it is time to turn again to the accepted traditions. The best-known of these makes Camões, soon after his arrival in Lisbon, fall passionately in love with a lady-in-waiting of the Queen—D. Caterina de Ataide—seen for the first time in church on Good Friday 1544. Three Caterinas de Ataide compete for the glory, and the more deeply one goes into the question the less solid foundation one discovers, although to deny the

existence of Camões' Natercia savours almost as much of desecration as to doubt that of Dante's Beatrice. The essential fact beyond dispute is that all Camões' early life centred round a passionate love at Coimbra or at Court, or both—for we have already noticed that relations between Coimbra and the Court were frequent—and we need not grudge her the name of Natercia (Caterina) although it scarcely occurs in his poems (31), merely noting that the gold hair of his early love at Coimbra continues and is evidently something more than a mere reminiscence of Petrarca's *trecce d'or*. The tradition of a love affair in the palace is as old as Camões' earliest biographer (32), but João Pinto Ribeiro appears to have been the first to give a name: a D. Caterina de Almada, a cousin of the poet's. There was no D. Caterina de Almada at Court, and Faria e Sousa aptly substituted Ataíde for Almada. But there were at least three D. Caterinas with this surname. D. Caterina de Ataíde, granddaughter of the

first Conde de Vidigueira, may have been a distant cousin of the poet. The fact that we do not know when she died is held to invalidate her claim to be Natercia. A second D. Caterina, daughter of D. Alvaro de Sousa, died too early (1551). A third, commonly believed to be the real Natercia, was the daughter of D. Antonio de Lima and D. Maria Bocanegra and died young, early in 1556. It will be seen that there is little to choose between two of the three and nothing definite to connect the poet with either. Recently a learned *camonista*, Dr. José Maria Rodrigues, has cut the Gordian knot by boldly asserting that Camões was in love with the Infanta Maria, daughter of King Manuel, the talented princess who was born in 1521 and died three years before Camões, and has supported his assertion with many ingenious arguments and quotations (33), while the new Couto MS. declares that the rapt ecstasy of the sonnet *Alma minha gentil* was called forth not by Natercia but by a Chinese slave-girl. If we turn to

Camões' poetry we find that his passionate love was nourished with hope (34), his confidence rose, he confided to his friends that his love was returned, or inopportunately and exultantly revealed the fact to her parents, while he openly and indiscreetly pressed his suit (35); and that suddenly his hopes were dashed to the ground: *perdi quanto esperei nũa só hora* (36). It is noticeable that in the Coimbra *canção* we have the same phrase: *desfeito em um momento* (37). The short occasional piece *El Rei Seleuco* is usually supposed to have been the immediate cause of Camões' banishment from Lisbon, and it is variously dated to suit the dates fixed for his banishment. Dr. Storck places it in the first third of 1549, but it seems to have been played in late autumn: the *Prologo* mentions a *fogueira com castanhas* (iv. 198). The limit of dates is 1545-51; in all probability it preceded Chiado's *Auto da Natural Invençam* (1545-53), and Chiado, who is mentioned with appreciation in Camões' play, must have been the

imitator : there is the same delay in the arrival of the players, their difficult passage through the crowd outside, the throng of spectators striving to force their way in (38). Dr. Storck considers that Natercia's parents sat in a front row in the audience and were duly scandalized by Camões' flippant references to his requited love for their daughter: *os erros por amores tem privilegio* (iv. 199). So far gone in lunacy do the critics suppose the poet, that besides offending the parents of Natercia he went out of his way to ridicule the Queen, the severe Spanish Queen Caterina, in the words 'Then enters Royal Catherine with half a dozen idiots in a sieve'. One might have thought that he was continuing to refer to his own love affair: my queenly Catherine; but the choice of the play's theme—the love of Prince Antioch for his stepmother—was strange, since King Manuel had married the bride originally destined for his son, now on the throne. The play was acted in the house of a Court official, and this makes it especially difficult

to believe in any intentional offence against the King and Queen. Acted elsewhere, the play might be considered a reaction from the growing severity and gloom of the Court ; acted in the presence of a high Court official, it must rather be regarded as reversing the maxim not to mention the rope in the house of the hanged : the subject might be chosen, as Gil Vicente might speak of poison in the presence of Queen Lianor, in order to show that gossip was unfounded ; at least there is no other explanation. We may with some probability assign *El Rei Seleuco* to the autumn of 1546, just before *Filodemo*, in which, in the person of Filodemo, we find references to the poet's boldness and disgrace (39). The real cause of Camões' disgrace was no doubt that by his confident, thoughtless conduct he had compromised Natercia, although her parents opposed her marriage to the penniless *cavaleiro fidalgo*. Camões seems to have left Lisbon (Natercia may have been sent to spend a few years in the Convent of Santa Anna

at Coimbra !). Was he formally banished from Court and where did he go? The answers to these questions have been various. The early biographers seem to have derived the banishment from phrases in Camões' own works, but in the sixteenth century any absence from Court was considered an *aspero degredo*, and it was sheer discourtesy not to speak of banishment when deprived of the light of the Court ladies' eyes. Dr. Storck supports the theory of a formal banishment with lines from Elegy i (*O sulmonense Ovidio*), but its references may only be to sorrow at being separated from his love (40). The poet in this elegy is in the country, near the Tagus, in a region seen previously under a happier star (41). Therefore, on the plausible assumption that he wrote the poem soon after leaving Lisbon, he must have gone up the Tagus in the Ribatejo country, perhaps to Santarem. This would be in the winter of 1546-7 (it was not only in his sad imagination that the country was without flowers). Storck places the

date much later. In a note written in 1573 (quoted by Juromenha from a letter addressed to Herculano by Bento José Rodrigues Xavier de Magalhães, dated August 2, 1852) Frei João do Rosario says that whenever he spoke to D. Caterina de Ataíde (daughter of D. Alvaro de Sousa), whose confessor he was during her last years, of the poet banished on her account she would answer that 'it was not so, but that it was his great heart and enterprise that had taken him to lands so distant' (42). This sounds more like India than Africa, but the date of her death is given as September 28, 1551. At all events we cannot argue from the passage, as Storck did, that the poet was still an exile (in Africa) in September 1551 (43). In the Ribatejo he may have stayed with friends, but he was, we may suspect, entirely without means of his own, and the prospect of serving the King in Africa may have seemed preferable to an aimless life in the provinces. One of the reasons why absence from Lisbon was really a hardship

was that it was difficult in the provinces to obtain any of the posts for each of which there were a score of candidates in Lisbon. That Ceuta was the town in North Africa to which Camões was sent is clear from lines in the beautiful elegy (*Aquella que d'amor*) which we may date 1547-8.

Subo-me ao monte que Hercules Thebano
Do altisono Calpe dividio,
Dando caminho ao mar Mediterraneo.

In the letter *Esta vai com a candêa na mão* (v. 223-8) he describes himself as a familiar of Sadness, but striving not to appear an owl among sparrows, and determined to make the best of things. In this world, he says, 'he only has good fortune who considers his fortune good'. Ill-fortune pursued Camões, for in an accident in igniting the priming of a firelock or by the enemy's fire (*infesto fogo*) he lost his right eye (44). After two years' service in Africa, i.e. in 1549, he returned to Lisbon. We arrive at this date quite independently of

the to all appearances false document adduced by Faria de Sousa to the effect that Camões' name was entered to embark for India in the good ship *San Pedro de los Burgaleses* in 1550. Dr. Storck, having given excellent reasons for not believing in the genuineness of the document, places the Ceuta period in 1549-51. Camões must have returned in good spirits. His cousin's intimacy with literary Prince João could not fail to raise hopes of special consideration. His services in Africa would obliterate past errors. But the Camões who returned from Ceuta was very different from the Camões who came to Lisbon from Coimbra a few years earlier. He was now inured to the ways of the world, rougher and disillusioned, and ready to take his pleasure wherever he might find it. He must still have had friends in high places. His *Filodemo* may have been acted now. We know, too, that now or earlier one of the great ladies of the Court, D. Francisca de Aragão, sent to ask him for verses; others, less polite,

taunted him as a one-eyed *diabo* (45). He joined in the revels of other young men penniless as himself, although in so doing he must have felt that he was merely acting a part to be put off at will, and he seems to have earned among them the name of the Swashbuckler, *Trincafortes* (46). Very ready with word and sword, he boasted that he had often seen the soles of other men's feet, but none had ever seen his. His letter from India shows clearly the kind of life he led, as does the incident which occurred a year or two after his return from Africa. On June 16, 1552, the day of Corpus Christi, an obscure Court official, Gonçalo Borges, was riding through the Rocio when at the entrance of the Rua S. Antão, near the Convent of S. Domingos, two masked men began to bandy words with him. From words they passed to acts, and Camões, recognizing in them two of his friends, drew his sword on their side and wounded Borges in the neck. We are not told if he, too, was mounted, or if friends had come to Borges'

assistance. As we have it the affair looks like a deliberate if not a prearranged attack (47). Dr. Storck considers that Camões had written in Africa his splendid *oitavas* addressed to D. Antonio de Noronha, who induced Prince João to favour the poet. The Prince's intervention on his behalf was, however, in vain, and in June 1552 Camões learnt that he had small hope of lucrative employment. The children of that day were precocious and the son of the Conde de Linhares may have been fitted to grasp the high philosophy of this poem before he was fifteen; it is also possible that the poem was written later in India, before its author had heard of D. Antonio's death, or that it was addressed to a different and older Noronha (Couto frequently calls him D. Antonio as well as D. Antão) who was in India with Camões. We know now that with his cousin *muito privado* Camões had no need for the mediation of D. Antonio. Simão Vaz may, however, have run into trouble himself about this time,

and this would be one reason for Camões' recklessness on June 16. His offence was extremely serious, aggravated as it was by the day's solemnity and by the presence of the Court at Lisbon. The penalty might be death, for in those unenlightened days murder was not considered a venial offence. If in the former danger which had caused him to leave Lisbon many of his friends turned their backs on him, he now felt the ground give way beneath his feet (48). For over eight months he lay in the *tronco* (prison) of Lisbon. Fortunately Borges' wound was not fatal, and before the end of February 1553 he had completely recovered and was ready to forgive his aggressor. In these circumstances, and after the intervention, perhaps, of some influential friend, Camões received a free pardon and was released on the payment of 4,000 réis *pera piedade* to the King's Almoner, the Bishop of S. Thomé. 'He is young and poor,' says the decree of pardon, 'and is going to serve me this year in India.' That

was a very polite way of putting it. Possibly Camões had received a strong hint that the pardon would arrive more quickly if he signified his intention of enlisting and embarking, and little more than a fortnight elapsed between the date of the pardon and his departure. Probably he had agreed almost with alacrity. To any one in the Lisbon prison the prospect of India and freedom would seem paradise enough.

III

THE matter assumed a different aspect when, on board the *S. Bento*, on Palm Sunday, March 26, 1553, or a couple of days earlier, he bade his native land good-night :

Gradually now our country's hills from sight
Receded that alone remained in view,
Tagus' beloved stream and the cool height
Of Sintra. (*Lus.* v. 3.)

'I went as one leaving this world for the next,' he wrote, and in the twilight of his hopes he addressed to his country the words of Scipio Africanus : 'Ingrata patria, non possidebis ossa mea' (49). India was no longer the El Dorado of his dreams but the 'confused Babel' described by Couto (50). An account of the voyage in a long poem (the magnificent elegy *O poeta Simonides*), a prose letter to a friend, and

the description of the same voyage by Vasco da Gama fifty-six years earlier in the fifth canto of the *Lusiads*, bring us very near to Camões at this time. He went at the King's expense, as a common soldier, enlisted for three years' service, but he was no longer the merry comrade of the Lisbon taverns, and he stood with tears in his eyes looking down on the passing water, seeing all his own mischance and upbraiding fortune for her unfairness, fully aware that his genius fitted him for higher things and that his inclinations were not in the least military. But he soon reacted and never shirked, however much he might dislike, his duties, nor forgot his gaiety :

E se o duro trabalho é manifesto
Que por grave que seja ha de passar-se
Com animoso espirito e ledo gesto. (51.)

A violent storm off the Cape of Good Hope diverted his mind from sorrowful recollections, and at last, at the beginning of September, after six months of hard ship (52), he arrived at Goa,

De todo pobre honrado sepultura. (53.)

Camões' prospects had not really changed for the worse. They would scarcely have improved had he remained in Portugal, for within a year of his departure Simão Vaz de Camões was in prison, Prince João and D. Antonio de Noronha were both dead, and Natercia, perhaps, died a few years later (1556). Whether he ever saw her again after the parting on *aquella triste e leda madrugada* (54) we do not know, but the eclogue *Passado ja algum tempo*, in which Belisa and Almeno meet, seems to imply that he did, once. Yet although his voyage to India was wise as well as, perhaps, necessary, his ill-luck seems to have pursued him still. Writing in the winter of 1554 to an anonymous friend in Portugal, he bids him warn others that everything is not marjoram in the wilderness and that there are *más fadas* in India as well as in Portugal. In the same letter he says that he is held in greater honour than bulls of Merceana (Aldêa Gallega) and enjoys more quiet than the cell of a preaching friar. The

words need not be taken ironically, for, although one scarcely associates Goa with quietness, Camões had had time to settle down when he wrote them, and had already composed in India some remarkable poems. Nor would he, even on his arrival, share the embarrassment of the provincial *reinol* (one newly arrived in India from 'the kingdom', i.e. Portugal), since Lisbon afforded no bad preparation for Goa. He is able to tell his friend all about the good ladies of Goa. A few weeks after his arrival he took part in the Viceroy's punitive expedition (November 1553) against the King of Chembe off the coast of Malabar (55). In a sonnet he speaks of

os nunca bem domados

Povos do Malabar sanguinolento. (ii. 45.)

The Viceroy's fleet consisted of a hundred ships, on one of which Camões embarked, receiving the pay of a common soldier (56). Probably (57) Camões took part also in the expedition which left Goa in the following year for the Red Sea (in February

1554, i.e. immediately after his return from Chembe). The *canção* (ii. 206-209) *Junto d'um seco, duro, esteril monte*, in which he says that cruel fortune had brought him for a while to Cape Felix (Cape Guardafui or Ras-ef-Fil), at the entrance of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, seems undeniably to have been written soon after leaving Portugal. His heart is full of the *passada e breve gloria* and *doces erros*. The expedition had for object to capture Turkish merchant-ships on the trade route from the East to Egypt. The Portuguese ships subsequently coasted past Arabia to the Persian Gulf. They left Ormuz in August, captured six out of sixteen ships under a Turkish captain, whose name is given as Alecheluby, off Maskat, and returned to Goa in November (58). Camões lived in India under eight Viceroys or Governors (59). Writing soon after his return from the Straits of Mecca, he speaks of his quiet life and of being held in honour. The latter phrase may be something more than a passing reference

to the Goa ladies, for the new Viceroy, D. Pedro de Mascarenhas, who arrived in September 1554, had been Mordomo Môr of the household of Prince João, and therefore most probably had known Camões well at Lisbon. The quietness is corroborated by the number and quality of the poems that Camões now composed: the Guardafui *canção* immediately after his return; the *oitavas* on the *desconcerto do mundo* perhaps just before, the long eclogue *Que grande variedade* just after the news of D. Antonio de Noronha's death; the autobiographical poem *Vinde cá*; and very possibly the incomparable *quintilhas* beginning *Sobolos rios que vão*, which, however, are often assigned to a later date (1556-60), and even, by the Couto MS., to 1569, as though the exile which they mourn were from Goa, not from Lisbon. He must also have been already hard at work on the *Lusiads* and have written the first five books now or earlier. Camões thus now at Goa wrote much of his most splendid poetry. This would seem to

indicate that he had returned with some share of the Maskat spoils. Fernam Mendez Pinto, in a similar expedition to the Straits, immediately after his arrival in India in 1537, had hopes of becoming *muito rico em pouco tempo* (60). Neither he nor Camões became 'very rich', and in his letter to his friend Camões is still able to speak of ill-fortune. The elegy *O poeta Simonides*, which clearly relates his experiences from the time he left Lisbon till the end of the Chembe expedition, must have been written earlier, unless we accept Severim de Faria's statement that Camões sailed to Bab-el-Mandeb, not in 1554 with D. Fernando de Meneses, but in 1555 (February to October) with Manuel de Vasconcellos. Camões may have considered the death of the aged Viceroy D. Pedro de Mascarenhas in 1555 one of his misfortunes. Probably in the winter of that year he produced his play *Filodemo* before the new Governor, Francisco Barreto. It had of course been written earlier; the whole atmosphere

is that of the Portuguese Court, of *Aulegrafia*. Some biographers assign to the period of Barreto's governorship a *satira do torneio* (v. 245-8) and the *disparates na India* (iv. 42-8), which are attributed, the latter with more reason than the former, to Camões' pen. Camões' was not the only sharp tongue in India, and he would be no match for the web of malice and intrigue which surrounded the supreme authority at Goa (61). According to Manuel Corrêa false friends bred trouble between him and the Governor, who exiled the poet. The *injusto mando* of *Lusiads*, x. 128 would thus refer to this banishment. His exile, according to Faria e Sousa, took the form of the appointment to the distant post of *Provedor Mór dos Defuntos e Ausentes* (Trustee for the dead and absent) at Macao, the settlement which the proud conservative Chinese had since 1554 allowed the Portuguese to maintain on sufferance in Kwangtung; so that Barreto *le desterró con comodidad* (62). Couto speaks of the

post of Provedor Môr (at Goa) as one of the most desirable appointments. That at Macao would be less lucrative, yet according to Mariz it provided Camões with considerable wealth (63). In any case knowledge of how eagerly posts of all kinds were coveted and canvassed for in India precludes the idea that such an appointment would be given as a punishment. Whether rivals and apparent friends feared the poet's gifts and his satirical pen and rejoiced at his departure is another matter. The chronology of the next few years in Camões' life is very confused. He may have left Goa for Malacca, a voyage of forty days or more, in April or in September 1556, after the end of his original term of three years' service as soldier in India. Mendez Pinto had set out with the Jesuit Padre Belchior a couple of years earlier. For us now, he and Camões are the two most interesting Portuguese then in the East, but an examination of dates makes it difficult for them to have met either at Goa or farther

east, unless Camões went to the Red Sea in 1555, in which case he was probably at Goa when Mendez Pinto embarked in April 1554. More probable is a meeting between Camões and Gaspar Corrêa, the aged historian and ex-secretary of Afonso de Albuquerque, who was now revising his *Lendas* at Malacca. Some biographers suppose that, as most ships went on from Malacca to the Moluccas, Camões paid a visit to the Islands of Spice and returned thence to Malacca in order to proceed to Macao. It is really extraordinary that, just as the poet's works embrace the whole of Portugal's history, he should have visited in person almost without exception every part of the Portuguese Empire, literally *de Ceita até os Chijs*. One might fancy that this was invention on the part of his biographers in order to make him representative of all that Portugal stood for, and be inclined to believe that he had never gone east of Cape Comorin, were it not for the very definite statement about the river Mekong

in the tenth canto of the *Lusiads*. The visit to the Moluccas is more doubtful. His description of the island of Banda (*Lus.* x. 133) seems that of an eyewitness, but so does the account of the battle of Aljubarrota, although even critical, ignorant Voltaire, who placed Camões' birth in the reign of João II (1481-95) or earlier, and believed that he had accompanied Gama to India (64), did not make him live in the fourteenth century. Still more improbable is the interpretation of the visit devised by Storck. Camões wrote in the sixth *canção* (*Com força desusada*) of an island in the East where 'My fate decreed that I should spend a great part of a life that was no life, so that in the hands of ferocious Mars wounds mingling with regret might be my death' (ii. 194). Faria e Sousa, Juromenha, and Burton very naturally supposed Camões to be referring to the island of Goa. Where else had Camões spent a great part of his chequered life in the East? Storck, however, on the strength of some later lines (ii. 196) in

the same poem ('E vos, Ó arvoredos, Que os justos vencedores coroaís (65), E ao cultor avaro Continuamente ledos, D'um tronco só diversos frutos (66) dais'), concludes that Camões is singing of nutmeg in the Banda Isles. Yet who has ever heard of victors crowned with nutmeg? Palm, laurel, bay, ivy, myrtle, celery, violets, if you will, but not nutmeg! It is surely permissible to believe with Faria e Sousa that the trees in question were evergreen palm-trees. But Dr. Storck went farther. He laid great stress on the words *da vida que eu não tinha* and, translating them literally, inferred that Camões had been dangerously wounded in a fight at sea and was brought to Banda (67), where he spent some months slowly recovering. He omitted to draw attention to the passage a little later in the same poem in which Camões speaks of the fair eyes of his love, and that in which he declared that 'one hour's absence from thee *were enough to kill me.*' A more reasonable reading of this *canção* shows

that in it Camões at Goa is bewailing the change from his former hopes in Portugal, when love gave him *esperanças, desejos e ousadia*, humouring him as a doctor may humour one who is past recovery, to his soldier's life at Goa, and it may have been composed in 1554-5. That is not to deny that Camões ever went to the Moluccas, but we do not know if or when he went there—we do not know when he left Goa, when he left Malacca, nor when he arrived at Macao. So incessant has been the ingenuity with which Portuguese and foreign biographers have filled in the gaps in Camões' life that this plain fourfold confession of complete ignorance may be received perhaps even with relief. Camões curiously never mentions Macao, although he names almost all the other places in the Portuguese Empire, in so many of which he had lived and suffered. We cannot, however, set aside the old tradition that he was at Macao for some time as Provedor, and was relieved of his post and sent back

to Goa owing to differences with the settlers or with the captain of the silk and silver ship, which touched at Macao on its voyage from Goa to Japan, whither it carried silks from China, as well as on its return voyage, bringing back silver from Japan. There is a legend that he composed the *Lusiads* in the Grotto of Camões at Macao, as a not very large (68) hole in a rock is now called. The cause and manner (voluntary or enforced) of his return from Macao are unknown. According to some accounts he returned in chains, and indeed the imprisonments now showered upon the unfortunate poet by his biographers are as numerous as were the alleged exiles of the earlier period of his life. Pedro de Mariz declared that he was thrown into prison by the Governor, Francisco Barreto, and returned under arrest to Portugal (69). Barreto was not Governor after 1558, Camões did not return to Portugal until 1570: was Mariz confusing the two Barretos, the Governor and Pero Barreto, whom Camões ac-

accompanied to Mozambique in 1569? Dr. Storck considered that the captain of the silk and silver ship, who held jurisdiction over Macao during his stay there, sided with the settlers and carried the poet under arrest on the return voyage to Goa. It is possible that these conjectures are now confirmed and that we even know the name of the author of the *injusto mando*. If it was so, Camões was only set free by being shipwrecked in the dangerous shallows off the coast of Tongking. Until recently the river Mekong has been maligned, since Camões in the celebrated shipwreck stanza (*Lus.* x. 128) does not say that he was shipwrecked there, much less, with Sir Richard Fanshawe, that he was

On Mecon's waves (a wreck and exile) tost,
 but that its gentle, placid waters had received him after the shipwreck, in which he had been exposed to great danger (70). Thus we know that somewhere, not far from the river Mekong, Camões suffered shipwreck and escaped with difficulty,

with the sea-drenched manuscript of the *Lusiads*. But recently the discovery of the new Couto MS., and, above all, the investigations of Snr. Jordão de Freitas, have thrown new light on the shipwreck and on his departure from Macao. It appears that Captain Leonel de Sousa was annoyed at having been deprived of jurisdiction as Provedor, usually vested in the captain of the silk and silver ship. Sousa left Japan on his return voyage to Goa at the end of 1558. Touching Macao he may well have vented his annoyance by ordering Camões' arrest. A letter addressed to Pedro de Alcaçova Carneiro, dated January 16, 1561, attributed with much probability to Leonel de Sousa, says that its author was shipwrecked on shallows in the middle of the Gulf of China, 'and I alone in a small boat with twenty-three others was saved and suffered thirst and hunger in an unknown and distant land' (71). The Couto MS. declares that Camões, returning from China, 'was wrecked off the coast of Siam, where they

saved nothing but their skins, and Camões fortunately escaped with his *Lusiads*, as he tells us in them.' The words *injusto mando* of *Lusiads* x. 128 (the passage to which the Couto MS. here refers) have been subjected to various interpretations. Was the author of 'the unjust order' Francisco Barreto, in 1556 or 1558, or the captain of the silk and silver ship, presumably Leonel de Sousa? It is possible to believe in neither explanation. Camões may pass in this stanza from the particular (his escape from a shipwreck) to the more general *injusto mando*, the 'injustiças daquelles que o confuso regimento do mundo, antigo abuso, faz sobre os outros homens poderosos' (ii. 216), which sent him to India in 1553. The date of the prophecies of the tenth canto (1499) must be remembered: from that distance of time it would be possible to embrace in a single stanza events separated by five years. If that is so, the whole theory of Camões' arrest at Macao loses its chief prop and falls to the

ground. If he went to Macao as Provedor early in 1556 his term of three years would be virtually ended in the winter of 1558-9. We do not know how long Camões lived among the Buddhists of Cambodia on the Mekong's banks before he and the other survivors were picked up by a passing ship and taken to Malacca and Goa (72). He seems only imperfectly to have grasped the religious tenets of the natives, since he interprets belief in transmigration as belief in a hell and heaven for all animals after death (73). We do not know if there was further delay at Malacca when Camões arrived there with the *Lusiads* as his sole earthly possession. If so, he must have found a congenial companion in the experienced and talented Corrêa; more congenial, we may be sure, than the rich Captain Miguel Rodriguez Coutinho, nicknamed Fios-Secos, or the Skinflint, who is supposed to have lent Camões money in order to enable him to return to Goa. Dr. Storck places his arrival at the capital of India in November 1560 (74),

but it may have been a year earlier. All that we know for certain is that before September 7, 1561, when the viceroyalty of D. Constantino de Braganza (son of James, Duke of Braganza, who had conquered Azamor in 1513-14) ended, Camões addressed him in *oitavas* (*Oit. ii. Como nos vossos hombros tão constantes*) evidently written at Goa, in which incidentally he complained of 'a injusta miseria que padeço'. Although it casts some reflections on the rule of his predecessor, the poem was clearly not written at the beginning of Braganza's term of office, since he is deep in 'tantos negocios arduos e importantes'. Some of the biographers believe that Camões was not only in Goa but in chains. The confused early biographers say that he was imprisoned at the bidding of Governor Barreto, against whom, as we have noticed, he shows a certain resentment in the poem addressed to his successor, and this has led others to state that Barreto sent orders for his arrest at Macao. The more reliable Severim de

Faria states that it does not appear that Camões was arrested in connexion with the Macao post under Braganza, but that he was imprisoned on this account under Braganza's successor, the Conde de Redondo, and retained in prison on a charge of debt (75). According to Juromenha he was thrown into prison on his arrival at Goa and released, re-arrested under Redondo, tried, and acquitted, but re-arrested for debt (76). Of still more recent biographers, Dr. Braga gives him two imprisonments; Burton, following Juromenha, three. Storck is in favour of one only, placing it in 1562, the year usually assigned to the second or third imprisonment (for debt), and believing that Camões' appeal to the Conde de Redondo saved him from actual imprisonment on the charge of debt. We have only to turn to the pages of Couto (77) or Gaspar Corrêa (78) to know that justice for the penniless at Goa was an extremely hazardous affair: as Camões said, 'la vão leis onde querem—cruzados', but Camões' alleged imprison-

ments seem to rest on rather flimsy grounds. It is not surprising that the biographers should have disagreed, for if we inquire into the sources of all these shades of the prison-house we find that they are merely the words *injusto mando* for the first arrest (on some charge connected with the post of Provedor at Macao), and for the second (debt) the words *na infernal cadeia*, which occur in lines addressed (1562) to the Viceroy, Conde de Redondo, beseeching him to save the author from the tender mercies of his creditor Miguel (Roiz, Fios-Secos d'alcunha). The rubric to these lines, declaring them to have been addressed to the Viceroy from prison, was evidently derived from the poem itself. It is quite legitimate to hold with Storck that Camões' meaning is that he would be imprisoned if he could not pay up (79). Did Camões accompany the Viceroy on the expedition to make peace with the Samori of Calicut, on which he was about to sail from Goa when Camões addressed these lines to

him? The line *me tem ao remo atado* and the fact that he wrote a long elegy (*Saião d'esta alma*) on the death of a friend, the young D. Tello de Meneses, killed in a brawl at Cochin in 1563, during the same expedition, make an affirmative answer highly probable. At any rate Redondo's viceroyalty seems to have been one of Camões' happier times in India. He was on familiar, if respectful, terms with the merry and witty Viceroy, to whom he addressed the *redondilhas* beginning *Conde, cujo ilustre peito*, and who sent him verses to gloss (80). It was perhaps during these years that he fell under the charms of the slave-girl Barbara, who inspired him with one of his loveliest lyrics (81), and that he invited five young *fidalgos*, his intimate friends, to a dinner of empty dishes, a really blank feast of blanc-mange, as the accompanying verses described it (82), soon followed, no doubt, by more substantial fare, since by the Viceroy's favour he was now probably better off, and there is no reason to think him incapable

of spending what he earned. So high in favour was he with Redondo that the aged and wealthy Garcia da Orta did not disdain to ask him for an introductory ode (*Aquelle unico exemplo*), beseeching the Viceroy's condescension on behalf of Orta and science, to the *Coloquios* printed at Goa by Joannes de Emden in 1563. Camões does not elsewhere mention Orta, and Orta nowhere mentions Camões. Orta was some thirty years his senior, but one would like to think that Camões was able to make use of his well-stocked library at Goa. The Conde de Redondo died at Goa on February 19, 1564, before the end of his viceroyalty. The new Viceroy, D. Antão de Noronha, arrived in September. To the gems of verse he seems to have preferred more solid jewels. If Camões held any official post under Redondo he may have lost it now, and the complete silence which surrounds the next three years of his life is in itself significant. The constant changes of those in authority were especially hard on subordinate

officials (83), and the favourite of one Viceroy could have no great hope that his successor would also be a *forte escudo*. It has been supposed that Camões accompanied expeditions sent out yearly from Goa during these years 1564-7, or that it was during these years that he went to the Moluccas, to Malacca, and even to Japan. He may have stayed on in India waiting for the post of factor at Chaul, to which he held the reversion (84), to become vacant, although Castello Branco contended that this post was only granted him by King Sebastian after his return to Portugal, and Storck is of the same opinion. It was easier to leave Portugal than to return. Home-bound ships were crammed with spices and other merchandise; a passage was difficult to obtain and expensive. Camões was once more penniless, but Pedro, or Pero, Barreto Rolim, who was going as captain to Sofala, offered to take him with him as far as Mozambique, and they left Goa in September 1567. Pedro Barreto,

having done the poet a kind turn, has borne the consequences, for he has been denounced by most of the biographers and accused of keeping Camões under arrest at Mozambique until he paid the uttermost farthing of what, except in Mariz' imagination, he had probably never owed him (for Barreto had merely paid for Camões' daily food from Goa to Mozambique). Even in 1914 Dr. Braga declares that Barreto 'behaved infamously'. According to the Couto MS., a quarrel with Barreto arose owing to Camões' difficult temper. Passing ships brought no friends willing to pay for the poet's keep during the long homeward voyage. He supported life as best he could in this unhealthy region with the help of charitable friends, and cheered his spirits by making ready for the press his only but not unworthy treasure from India: the ten cantos of the *Lusiads*. Fortune was more favourable in 1569. The historian Couto and other friends going home were delayed by bad weather at Mozambique during the

winter of that year. There they found Camões in distress and clubbed together to provide the clothes he was in need of, and his meals on the voyage home (85).

IV

IN April two ships at least of the home-bound fleet reached the hospitable harbour of Cascaes, the *Santa Clara* (April 7) and the *Santa Fé* (April 23). As if to remind Camões that 'ca como la más fadas ha', his old friend Heitor da Silveira died in sight of the Rock of Sintra (86), while Lisbon was a stricken city, only beginning to recover from the fearful pestilence of 1569. The poet Antonio Ferreira had perished in it, another man of letters, Trancoso, had lost his wife and children. Sá de Miranda, Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, Jorge de Montemôr, Castanheda, Galvão, had been dead some years. Fernam Mendez Pinto was living in a splendid obscurity at Almada across the Tagus, Diogo Bernardes preferred the quiet of his Minho home, Barros was spending his last years in a country-house near Pombal.

With Caminha Camões can have had little in common, although the former's hostility has probably been exaggerated, but D. Manuel de Portugal, friendly, although not an intimate friend, was still at Court, as was perhaps the author of *Palmeirim*, and Goes, much aged, was also at Lisbon, as no doubt were Chiado, Prestes, and Falcão de Resende, the two former eager to renew and the latter to make the acquaintance of the poet. Immediately before or immediately after the procession of April 20, 1570, to give thanks for the cessation of the plague, the poet entered Lisbon. His long wanderings were at length over. For seventeen years he had lived an exile, seeing new customs, nations, and languages, unfamiliar conditions under alien skies (87). His mother was alive, perhaps already living in the poor Mouraria quarter of the town. His cousin Simão Vaz was still at Coimbra. Camões' thoughts naturally turned to the publication of the *Lusiads*, and on September 24, 1571, probably owing to the

good offices of D. Manuel de Portugal (88), he received permission to print it (89). In 1572 the work appeared (90). To our confusion we are confronted with two 1572 editions, and it has been assumed that one of them was a pirated later edition. (But the case was not unknown (91); there were, for instance, two 1566 'editions' of Goes' Chronicle of King Manuel.) It appeared early in the year, and in July Camões was granted a pension of 15,000 réis, to date from March 12 (the date of the publication of the *Lusiads*?), on account of his services in India and his 'book of the things of India' (92).

Camões felt that his work was done :

Esta é a ditosa patria minha amada,
A qual, se o ceo me dá que eu sem perigo
Torne com esta empresa ja acabada,
Acabe-se esta luz ali comigo.

(*Lus.* iii. 21.)

It is very improbable that he would have returned to India even if offered the post of Factor of Chaul. If he were not given the reversion now, says Castello

Branco, the condition that the poet must reside at Lisbon in order to receive his pension would be inexplicable, and Storck explains also by the reversion the fact that the pension was only granted for periods of three years, as were posts in India (93). But there are so many things inexplicable in Camões' life. There may have been some special reason for not wishing him to live at Coimbra. It is difficult or impossible to estimate in modern money the pension given to Camões, owing to the rapidly changing values in both the sixteenth and twentieth centuries. Severim de Faria (94) considered the pension insignificant. It was insignificant compared with the 400,000 réis received by Barros, and even that princely pension would be equivalent to only £7 to-day, whereas in 1911 it would have been worth £80, and in the middle of the sixteenth century a peasant at Madeira could buy a meal of bread and wine for four réis (95). It is quite clear that one could live in reasonable comfort

on 15,000 réis and even save a little for an emergency, so that there was no need for Camões to subsist on the alms given in the Lisbon streets to his Javanese slave, who figures so picturesquely in Mariz' inaccurate account of the poet's last years (96). The pension was not renewed till August 2, 1575 (to date from March 12), for a further period of three years (97), and during the whole of 1575 it remained unpaid, so that he did not receive the sums due till June 22, 1576 (98). On June 2, 1578, the pension was again renewed for three years, from August 2, but Camões must have protested, and the date was changed to March 12 (99).

In 1574 the Pope sent King Sebastian an arrow stained with the lifeblood of St. Sebastian, and Camões celebrated the event in the *oitavas* beginning *Mui alto rei* (*Oit.* iii.); a little later he wrote a sonnet and some tercets for Magalhães Gandavo's *Historia da Provincia de Sancta Cruz* (1576); but otherwise we know scarcely

anything definite about these years. In 1578 King Sebastian, whom Camões had addressed as 'terror of the Moors' and

certissima esperança

De aumento da pequena Cristandade, (100) sailed for the second time to Africa. Not the vigorous singer of the *Lusiads*, but the gentle poet of the river Lima, was chosen to accompany him and his magnificent train of nobles. Camões' temper may have grown difficult with advancing age, he may have incurred disfavour by too outspoken remarks about the bureaucrats; but the more probable explanation is that he was weak and ill. His ill-fortune pursued him to the end: 'sempre foram engenhos peregrinos da fortuna invejados.' He was under sixty, but his long life of hardship in the East, while testifying to his powers of endurance, must have left its mark. At the end of 1579 the plague again began to ravage Lisbon. As Camões lay ill, weary and ill, for the ruin of his country at Alcacer-Kebir had left no spirit in him, he wrote to D. Francisco de Almeida,

Captain-General of Lamego, that 'all will see that so dear to me was my country that I was content to die not only in, but with it' (101). No doubt it was during his last illness that the *Parnasso*, the book of his lyrics mentioned by Couto, was mislaid or stolen. In a copy of the *Lusiads* belonging to Lord Holland in 1817, the Morgado de Matheus found a note by a Carmelite monk, Fray José Indio, in Spanish: 'How grievous to see so great a genius brought so low! I saw him die in a hospital at Lisbon, without so much as a sheet to cover him, after having won success in India and sailed 5,500 leagues of sea [the voyage from Lisbon to Goa]. What a warning for those who night and day wear themselves out by profitless study, like spiders spinning webs to catch flies!' (102). Camões may have died in a hospital or in the poor house of the Mouraria, where he lived with his mother, who after his death, on June 10, 1580, continued to receive his pension (103). Tradition gives the neighbouring church

of the Franciscan nuns of Santa Anna as his last resting-place. For his tomb there D. Gonçalo Coutinho later wrote an inscription, and thence in 1880 what were presumed to be his bones were transferred to the national pantheon at Belem and placed near the remains of King Sebastian and Vasco da Gama. The real resting-place of Camões' bones will now never be known, and it is perhaps fitting that he who in his life and character and genius is so truly representative of the Portuguese people should have no fixed grave, but should live in the hearts of all Portuguese, and of all lovers of poetry,

Con segno di vittoria incoronato.

V

FEW as are the certain facts about Camões' life, his character cannot really be said to be unknown to us. His personality is far less shadowy than Shakespeare's, because, being a subjective poet, there is a strong personal element in the majority of his poems, and even from his epic poem we derive a clearer idea of Camões than of, say, Vasco da Gama. No one has ever doubted his patriotism and courage; and he had that persistency which characterizes the Portuguese, and which may lead a nation to greatness or ruin according as it is well or ill directed. But he only faced a soldier's life as a dire necessity. By nature he was rather contemplative than martial. His echo of Virgil is sincere :

Ó lavradores bem-aventurados,
Se conhecessem seu contentamento,
Como vivem no campo sossegados !
(iii. 175-7.)

His military duties were at first distasteful (iv. 171) and there is a palpable reluctance in the line 'Foi logo necessario termos guerra' (iii. 174), with which he begins the account of his first campaign in India. Dislike for war did not of course mean that he did not fight well and with spirit. One thinks of Gaspar Corrêa's words, 'I ever saw those who fight least call loudly for war' (104), and Camões could laugh at those who are brave only when there is no fighting (105). He had pliancy as well as endurance, and soon accepted his new life of disquiet and adventure with a kind of fatalism (106) and also with a reverent submission to decrees inscrutable and unintelligible to poor minds of men (107). The life of a penniless sensitive gentleman was not a path of roses in Portugal in the sixteenth century, any more than in any other place or time. Camões had neither persistent assertiveness nor the power given by money and high position. He dwells more than once on the overweening injustice of those in

authority, and satirizes those who have a title to their name but no deeds to match (108). He satirizes, too, among others, the dandies (109) and censorious critics (*andão emendando o mundo e não se emendão a si*). He himself possessed all the conditions for ideal happiness. He was an intense lover of Nature, and content with little, asking only for books and quiet study. Witty and melancholy, like so many of his countrymen, his impressionable nature made him a prince of lovers. If we may believe his biographers he was passionately in love with the lady of the gold hair at Coimbra, three, or at least two, D. Caterinas de Ataíde at Lisbon, Dinamene, Nise, and the Chinese captive, the slave-girl Barbara, and the Princess Maria. 'Em varias flammis variamente ardia' (110). But although we know how beautiful could be the verse elicited by his passing devotion to a slave-girl (not necessarily black), tradition has rightly made his love and life centre round one figure, the *testa de neve e de ouro*, early

parted from him. Camões with money and happiness might have continued to live quietly in the *florida terra*, but he would not have written his incomparable lyrics. A cruel fate drove him from the crystal streams, the lovely woods and hills of Coimbra, first to the intrigues of Lisbon, then to the hardships of Africa, and finally to the Babel beyond the seas, exiled from Sion :

Ca nesta Babylonia donde mana
Materia a quanto mal o mundo cria . . .
Ca neste escuro caos de confusão
Cumprindo o curso estou da natureza.
Vé se me esquecerei de ti, Sião! (III.)

He must have found that his new life had its compensations and that for so ardent a lover of his country a career of action and hard blows and broadening acquaintance with the far-flung empire was not without value. Otherwise he could scarcely have preserved his keenness and turned his experience to such marvellous account in his verse. His poems and a few books

went with him in his wanderings (112). The depth of his learning, shown so lightly and gracefully in his poems, has struck all his readers, and, although no doubt acquired early in life, it could only have been kept alive by an eager mind and a wonderful memory. But it was natural that he should sing of the instability and injustices of fortune and the constant change and decay of all mortal things. Camões, by nature very human, sensitive, contemplative, as it were quietly passionate, could adapt himself to circumstance. His lyric gift could turn to satire, and he preserved his gaiety in Lisbon and India in order not to appear 'an owl among sparrows', although all the while he might be 'thirty or forty leagues away in the wilderness of thought' (113). In his youth in Lisbon he was prompt enough with word or sword, so that his friends could call him the Swashbuckler. He was, one might say, overdoing his part, and the increasing sense of instability might tempt him to recklessness. The

true Camões remained behind this mask, ready for fresh suffering and devotion, till a long series of misfortunes brought him back to Lisbon, cold, weary, and disillusioned, dead to the world. He had genius and does not seem to have been wholly incapable of minting it into talents for daily use; he had courage and endurance, he made many friends: why was he not materially more successful? The Couto MS. speaks of his *natureza terrível*, we hear of his complaining about the non-payment of his pension, although any such asperity must have been the result, not the cause, of his failure. But he probably had that disinterested love of plain speaking which is the terror of officials, and although he could write to a great nobleman like the Count of Cascaes, asking for the rest of his promised gift, since he had only received the half of one stuffed chicken out of six (iv. 94), or to a *fidalgo* for a promised shirt (iv. 55), he was perhaps essentially too independent and critical of those in authority (every one will remember

a score of famous passages in the *Lusiads*, cf. iii. 84, vi. 98, vii. 80-7, viii. 41, 54, ix. 27-9, x. 24, 25) to find favour, while the original manner of his going to India was against him. If Mariz' account of his liberality and extravagance is not a mere phrase (114) of the kind considered indispensable by early biographers or eulogists, Camões did not methodically build up his fortune, or, when he did, shipwreck intervened. But indeed the example of Galvão before he sailed, or of Mendez Pinto and Gaspar Corrêa later, might have told him all that he could wish to know about the prospects of a penniless Portuguese beyond the seas, and Camões was not the first man of exceptional gifts who returned broken from India. The great prizes went not to talent, but to the great *fidalgos*. A character so impulsive, loyal, and affectionate as that of Camões, so responsive to passing events, must inevitably have become blunted by eight years of Lisbon and seventeen years of India in that age, and when at last he found leisure

and quiet for that study in which, he had said, 'the spirit still its surest food must find,' it was too late. There is no more pathetic line in his works than that of the ninth stanza of the last canto of the *Lusiads*:

A fortuna me faz o engenho frio.

VI

PORTUGUESE history, rich in heroic and romantic episodes, did not, during its first five centuries, inspire great epic poems. Yet in the sixteenth century, in Portugal's new glory, a great national epic had become an aspiration among the more serious Portuguese poets. Garcia de Resende had regretted in 1516 that the Portuguese were so careless in recording their deeds, and his collection of verse in the *Cancioneiro Geral* proved that his complaint was not unfounded. Sá de Miranda was the first to revolt against these frivolous Court verses. Barros had expressed a wish for a more heroic poetry to correspond to his own epic *Decadas*, and Antonio Ferreira kept advising his friends to attempt the epic flight : Andrade Caminha, whose waxen artificial wings were unlikely to raise him more than a few inches from the ground ; Diogo Bernardez, whose

genius was not sufficiently universal ; Diogo de Teive, who answered him in Latin :

Lysiadum jubes ut maxima regum
Facta canam.

While the poets of Sá de Miranda's school were thus debating as to who should confer immortal glory on the name of Portugal, a greater than Sá de Miranda was among them, preparing himself for the task. Camões in his youth before leaving Lisbon, in the fourth eclogue (*Cantando por um valle docemente*), promises at love's inspiration to rival Homer and Virgil (115), and he no doubt early fixed on Ariosto's *ottava rima* as the suitable metre for his epic ; in this metre he composed some of his first short poems. When were the *Lusiads* written ? Faria e Sousa alleges that João Pinto Ribeiro told him that Camões awoke one morning at Sofala or Mozambique with the idea of the epic in his mind, a story which probably originated in the fact that Couto had found Camões revising the *Lusiads* at Mozambique in 1569. From a passage in

the *Lusiads* (x. 128) we may infer that the poem was practically complete at the end of 1558. Dr. Storck considers that the wish to celebrate his country in song first came to him on his journey (which he places in 1542) from Coimbra to Lisbon, during which he would see Batalha, Alcobaça, and other famous monuments of Portugal's earlier greatness. It is extremely probable that he was at work on the *Lusiads* for twenty years (1550-70), but the period of concentrated work on the poem may perhaps be narrowed to 1555-8. Critics who do not think it very proper for any literary masterpiece to be begun elsewhere than in prison hold that Barros' first Decad, published twelve days after Camões' arrest in the Rocio, inspired him to begin his epic; but in very truth Camões was probably thinking more of Borges than of Barros at that time. The third and fourth cantos, describing the early history of Portugal, may have been begun or finished before he sailed in 1553, but it was his voyage

to India which revealed to him his opportunity of describing Vasco da Gama's famous voyage in the light of his own personal experience, and this now became the poem's central theme, round which he wove the reading of his earlier and later years. He drew from the antiquarian Resende, from the early chronicles of Portugal, contemporary historians of India, and many other sources (116). The first eighteen stanzas of the first canto were added late, probably at Lisbon in 1570, as were the last stanzas of the poem (x. 145-56), in which he speaks of his country as sunk in 'hũa austera, apagada e vil tristeza'. It is very interesting to compare the dedicatory stanzas in Canto I (6-18) with those addressed to King Sebastian at the end of Canto X (145-56). In his commentary Epiphanio Dias considers that a comparison between the last two stanzas of the poem and the fifteenth stanza of Canto I shows the long interval of time between the beginning and end of the *Lusiads*'

composition. Others may believe that the words 'Eu estes canto e a vos não posso' (i. 15) as compared with 'Para cantar-vos mente ás Musas dada' (x. 155) indicate not the difference between early diffidence and later accomplishment, but are simply intended as an excuse for not having carried the period of the poem beyond 1550, whereas King Sebastian was resolved that his own should be the most heroic age of all. At length the poem on which Camões had for so many years staked his hopes of glory and advancement, which had been drenched in the South China Sea and solaced his weary sojourn at Mozambique, appeared in print. Officially it appears to have been regarded as a rhymed chronicle of the deeds of the Portuguese in India, which perhaps explains the subsequent appearance of histories in the form of rhymed epics. Camões, when he went to the *Orlando Furioso* for his metre, had promised himself to write of no fables but of the true heroic deeds of the Portuguese (117).

The example thus set was followed by others, with sad results in the absence of Camões' genius, his marvellous power of weaving music out of reality. Thus Jeronimo Corte Real published three long epic poems, the second of which, on Don Juan de Austria's victory at Lepanto, *Felicissima Victoria* (1578), changed its name to *Austriada*, no doubt after the appearance of Juan Rufo Gutierrez' *La Austriada* in 1584. A few years later came Luis Pereira Brandão's lamentable *Elegiada* (1588) and the historian Francisco de Andrade's pedestrian epic (1589) on the first siege of Diu. Thus Camões suffered from his imitators, as from the biographers, critics, translators, and portrait-painters. Ercilla's *La Araucana* (1569) was published three years before the *Lusiads*, when Camões was on his way home with his poem completed, and its success may have smoothed the way for the publication of the Portuguese epic. In Spain Camões rapidly won admirers, and they had the good taste, as Faria e

Sousa records (118), to prefer the lyrics to the epic, for although to a Portuguese Camões must ever be the author of the *Lusiads*, to the lover of poetry he is first and foremost a great lyric poet. Two Spanish translations of the *Lusiads* appeared in Castille in the year of Camões' death, at Alcalá and Salamanca. Cervantes spoke of 'the most excellent Camões' (119), Lope de Vega called him 'divine'. Calderón, Tirso de Molina, and Herrera appreciated his work, Gracián referred to him as 'immortal' (120). In Italy, Torquato Tasso, twenty years Camões' junior, in a sonnet on Vasco da Gama spoke of Camões as the 'buon e dotto Luigi'. In England he was not translated till the middle of the seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth century, which might have been expected to be hostile to so lyrical a genius, he seems to have been the subject of considerable study in both France and England. Voltaire criticized and praised the *Lusiads*, and Montesquieu, in a passage of *L'Esprit des Lois*, declared

that Camões' epic 'fait sentir quelque chose des charmes de l'Odyssée et de la magnificence de l'Énéide' (121). The *Lusiads* was gradually translated into many languages, including Latin and Hebrew (a Greek version has been mentioned but never seen). In Portugal Camões effected a revolution. The early Portuguese poetry, delightful and remarkable as it is, became as though it were not for the next three centuries. Besides a long line of tedious epics lasting into the nineteenth century, he inspired hundreds of lyric poets, the most prominent of whom in the field of the eclogue were Fernam Alvarez do Oriente and Francisco Rodriguez Lobo. Six years before Camoes' death Magalhães de Gandavo, in his *Regras*, called Camões 'our famous poet'; in the sonnet 'Quem é este que na harpa Lusitana', written probably during Camões' last years and attributed to Francisco Gomez de Azevedo (122), he is exalted both as dramatic and epic poet. Diogo Bernardez considered that Camões' own

poems were his highest praise: 'se louva a si só em toda a parte', and Couto in old age wrote down a few belated recollections about 'the prince of the poets of our time'. Luis Franco Corrêa, who professed to have been Camões' 'friend and companion' in India, collected some of his poems in a still unpublished *Cancioneiro*, and Fernam Rodriguez Lobo Soropita edited the first edition of the lyrics in 1595. In 1631, according to Alvaro Ferreira de Vera, there were twelve editions of the *Lusiads* (123). Clearly there was criticism also. In 1576, in his ode on Gandavo's book on Brazil, Camões refers significantly to the critics: *algum zoilo que ladrasse*. At the beginning of the seventeenth century his poetry is 'calumniada de muytos', says Manuel Corrêa, and sixty years after his death a Portuguese critic, João Soares de Brito, thought it worth while to publish an *Apologia* (1641) of Camões' poetry. But before considering some of the criticisms levelled then and later against the *Lusiads* it may be well to give a short

analysis of the poem. Canto I begins by declaring the author's purpose (i. 1-3), invokes the nymphs of Tagus (i. 4-5), and addresses King Sebastian (i. 6-18), exhorting him against the Moors and translating Virgil's line 'Et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari'. Then, as in the *Aeneid*, and in modern novels of the realistic school, the reader is plunged *in medias res*. The deities of Olympus look down on the Portuguese adventurers approaching Mozambique, and Jupiter addresses the other gods, of whom Venus and Mars favour the enterprise of the Portuguese and Bacchus is hostile (i. 19-41). Vasco da Gama, of proud and lofty heart, reaches the island of Mozambique, where he explains his mission and asks for pilots for India, but the natives attack the Portuguese and only after being constrained to sue for peace send them a pilot, although still with treacherous intent. At Mombasa the wiles of Bacchus, the pilot, and the natives are defeated by the forethought of Venus (i. 42-106; ii. 1-32). Venus, after accom-

plishing her task of saving the Portuguese, listens to Vasco da Gama's prayer and ascends to Olympus to beseech Jupiter in their favour (ii. 33-43). Jupiter answers by foretelling the great deeds of the Portuguese, which shall throw into the shade those of Greek and Roman: victories over the Turks and kings of India, triumphs in the Red Sea, at Ormuz, Diu, Goa, Cannanore, Calicut, Cochin, and Malacca, even to the far confines of China (ii. 44-55). He then sends down Mercury to guide the Portuguese to the harbour of Melinde, where they are hospitably received by the King, who visits Gama on board and inquires about the past history of his country (ii. 56-113). Gama describes Europe and its head, Spain, and the crown of its head, Portugal (iii. 1-21). The heroic deeds of Viriatus and the early Portuguese kings are then chronicled, the victory of Ourique (iii. 42-53), and the victory of Salado (iii. 109-17). The death of Inés is related in deathless stanzas (iii. 118-36), and the

magnificent account of the battle of Aljubarrota follows (iv. 23-44). King João II sends messengers to the East (iv. 61-5) and King Manuel is visited in a dream by Ganges and Indus, promising him tribute (iv. 66-75). He entrusts Gama with the command of the expedition (iv. 76-83), which leaves Lisbon in the presence of the assembled people (iv. 84-94), but an old man of venerable appearance in ten heartfelt stanzas inveighs against the enterprise, voicing the opinions of the Little Englanders of that day (iv. 95-104). Gama's voyage to Mozambique is now related (v. 1-89), with a splendid description of the appearance of the Cape of Good Hope in the form of the giant Adamastor. With a reliable pilot Gama leaves Melinde for India, but Bacchus goes down to visit the gods of the sea and stirs them up against the audacious navigators (vi. 1-37). The story of Magriço (vi. 43-69), told to beguile their way, is interrupted by a furious storm (vi. 70-85), after weathering which they have sight

of India. The poet here pauses to upbraid the stubborn perversity of the Germans, harsh Henry VIII of England, with his new manner of Christianity, and the King of France, most Christian only in name (vii. 1-14). He then turns to the deeds of the Portuguese, their arrival at Calicut, where they rejoice to find a friendly Spanish-speaking Mahometan Berber, and Gama's reception by the Governor (Catual) and King (Samori) (vii. 15-77). Camões here breaks off to lament his own ill-fortune (vii. 78-87). The Catual, while Vasco da Gama is ashore, visits his brother Paulo on board. The visit is not historical, but it gave Paulo occasion to explain the figures and the battle-scenes on the flags and awnings, from Luso and Ulysses to the Meneses who won fame in North Africa (viii. 1-43). Meanwhile the Mahometans or Moors incite the King against the new-comers, and Gama has some difficulty in getting back to the ships (viii. 44-99). After further unsatisfactory negotiations Gama

leaves on the homeward voyage, carrying a few natives and samples of spices (ix. 1-17). Venus prepares for them an island of delight (in the Azores?), where all the Nereids receive them (ix. 18-95). The island and its fruits are described in glowing colours—the whole canto seems a picture by Rubens. The marriage of mariners and sea-nymphs symbolizes Portugal's glory and lordship over the ocean. Tethys sings (x. 6-74) of the future deeds of the Portuguese in India, of Duarte Pacheco (x. 12-25), D. Francisco de Almeida (x. 26-38), Albuquerque (x. 39-45), and other Governors down to D. João de Castro († 1548). She then shows them a magic globe and explains the world and the system of the universe, in which she and the other gods have no part—*somos fabulosos*: mere poet's toys (x. 77-90). She shows them the various regions of the Earth and prophesies yet further achievements of the Portuguese (x. 91-142). The Portuguese then leave the island and return to Lisbon (x.

143, 144) and the work ends with twelve stanzas addressed to King Sebastian (x. 145-56). It will be seen that Voltaire was right in describing the *Lusiads* as 'une nouvelle espèce d'épopée'. It is a bundle of episodes, and on the central theme, Gama's voyage of discovery, is hung with great skill the whole of Portugal's glorious history. Gama is present throughout, and the time of the action is eighteen months (March 1498 to September 1499). Although present throughout, Gama is, however, not prominent. Camões could sum up a character or a situation in a concentrated phrase, and if the critics, as Burton remarked (124), 'find him poor in character painting', that is partly because it was not his object to sing of one hero but of a thousand, while the time of the poem really covers many centuries. With a fine audacity Camões begins his poem with the words *As armas e os barões*: arms and the men I sing, as compared with Virgil's *Arma virumque* (125). He takes for his subject a whole

nation, and as a result his epic, like Milton's *Paradise Lost*, is without a hero. On such lines it required true genius to compose a spirited and living poem. The voyage of Gama gives a faint unity of action and the sense of proportion is as a rule maintained. Exception has been taken to the long story of Magriço, but it should be noted that the action is not interrupted, the ships are sailing on o'er seas before untraversed while the story is being told. On the other hand the eighth canto is stationary, and in Paulo da Gama's narrative we go back to the third canto. No doubt Camões had found that there was too much material to be included in that canto if the proportion of the poem was to be preserved ; patriotism forbade its omission, aesthetic sense reserved it for a later place. Others find fault with the artificial presentment of the globe in the last canto as a piece of dead matter in the living flow of the poem. The introduction of the heathen gods was early impugned and the Censor (126) was care-

ful to point out that they were demons. To us the artistic lapse in this respect is the passage in which the poet goes out of his way to explain that these gods are fabulous and have no existence outside the poet's mind. Yet to Camões' pagan Renaissance sense of beauty they were very real, and but for the intervention of Venus the Portuguese would have ended their enterprise at Mombasa. We must, however, excuse what was evidently an afterthought, intended to win the good graces of the Censor. It has been objected, again, that Camões' poem is imitative. For the general plan as well as for many details of the execution he went to Virgil, for the matter to many contemporary literary sources. So various indeed are the sources, so rich is the poem in history, geography, and mythology, that one marvels to think that most of it must have been composed far from a library, and one marvels too at the way Camões gives even the closest imitation a magic of his own and lightly and

triumphantly bears aloft a burden of learning on the wings of his genius. The style in which the *Lusiads* is composed has been praised and blamed. Portuguese critics often hold that real poetic diction in Portugal begins with Camões, and it is true that Portuguese poets had hitherto written for a narrower circle. Writers who wished to be more widely read used Latin or Spanish. When the Bishop of Silves published his Latin chronicle of King Manuel's reign in 1571 it did not cover different ground from that of Goes' Portuguese chronicle, but being in Latin it aspired to penetrate 'per omnes Reipublicae Christianae regiones'. Camões was a universal poet, and, writing in Portuguese, he enlarged the language to make it an instrument capable and worthy of its higher responsibilities and the new place of Portugal in the world. His introduction of latinisms did not impair the vigour of his own verse, but it led to abuses later. Camões had prayed for 'hũa furia grande e sonora' (Caminha

is supposed to refer to Camões in one of his epigrams : 'dizes que um poeta ha de ter furia') and an 'estilo grandilocuo e corrente', and very occasionally he falls into that turgidity which became so pronounced in later Portuguese, but as a rule his style is clear, direct, and natural, the despair of the translators. More serious than these alleged defects are the prosaic lines and passages and slovenly rhymes in the *Lusiads*. Often three successive rhymes are formed by the past tense of a verb : -*avam*, -*avam*, -*avam* ; but Camões was too natural a poet to set great store by the rhyme, and the transparent flow of his verse does not in fact depend on any such artificial aid. It was inevitable that a poem so closely bound to reality should sometimes brush the ground ; the wonder is that it soars so often : the poet's patriotic fervour and *furia* give it an epic spirit and a rapidity, an *immortalis velocitas*, which carries the reader over the weaker stanzas, some of which, when observed separately, are found to be halting and

uninspired. And whatever blemishes the poem may have, it will always remain one of the world's greatest poems by reason of its magnificent lyric flights (praises of Portugal, the account of D. Inés de Castro's murder, the battle of Aljubarrota, Gama's departure from Belem, the vision of Adamastor, the island of Venus), and passages in which thought and experience and wisdom are condensed into phrases of that pregnant force and brevity for which the Portuguese language is famous, often into a single memorable line. A large part of the poem is a personal experience. The comparatively little notice given in the *Lusiads* to Prince Henry the Navigator (yet he is praised in viii. 37 and receives a splendid epithet in v. 4: *o generoso Henrique*) is held to indicate that the poem was not originally intended to be a poem of the sea. Certainly the omission was not due to the fact that the Infante Henrique, with an English mother, was only half a 'Lusiad', since several stanzas are given to his brother, the heroic Prince

Fernando ; more probably, Camões omitted the expeditions sent out by the Duke of Viseu because they covered the same ground as the later voyage of Gama. But without Camões' own voyage the *Lusiads* would have lacked its abiding fascination. In passage after passage he earns Humboldt's praise as a great painter of the sea (127). The singular vividness of the descriptions goes hand in hand with the living construction of history. With an inexhaustible lyric vein Camões combined great power of concentration, and the result is that the *Lusiads* is crowded with unfading pictures—who could forget that of D. Lianor de Sousa inset in the vision of Adamastor?—and a poem but half the length of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* nobly enshrines the whole of Portugal's history and empire.

VII

THE versification in Camões' three plays is delightfully easy. Would he have risen to Shakespearian heights in the drama had he been given some encouragement, had he been able to gather the fruits of the three E's, of which he was reasonably proud (128), and to develop his genius at leisure? There are keen observation and a true vein of comedy in *Os Amfitriões*, in which Jupiter takes the form of Amfitrião and Mercury that of his servant; the plot is skilfully worked out in *Filodemo*, in which Filodemo, orphan child of a Portuguese *fidalgo* and a Danish princess wrecked off the coast of Portugal, before his parentage is known falls in love with his cousin Dionysa, while Dionysa's brother, Venadoro, falls in love with

Florimena, sister of Filodemo, and the revelations of the old shepherd who had brought up Florimena provide a happy ending. But Camões' genius was not really dramatic, although, had he not left Lisbon in 1553, he would probably have produced a few more such lively comedies, with action more complicated and closely woven than any devised by Gil Vicente, with whose plays he was of course familiar before he sailed to India, although they were not published in a collected edition until nine years later. It is as a great lyric poet that Camões stands supreme. Writing probably in 1569, he tells us that misfortune had dulled his senses, and if—it is extremely improbable—the Couto MS. is right in assigning the composition of the seventy-three *quintilhas* beginning *Sobolos rios que vão* to that year, at Mozambique, they would have to be considered as the swan-song of his lyric verse. The ode written for Orta's *Coloquios* in 1563 is, to say the least, frigid, as is that in Gandavo's book thirteen years later, while the sonnet

attributed to him in 1569 by the Couto MS. is a truly paralytic effort. Henceforth his muse was only to be stirred to fresh magnificence by the thought of his country and his country's last hope, the young King Sebastian. The opening stanzas of the *Lusiads* were no doubt added just before its publication (one need not infer from stanzas seven and nine that Sebastian was still an infant). He may have written, also, one or two fine sonnets, such as that beginning *Ó quanto melhor é o supremo dia* (no. 234, ii. 118), which, if not by Camões, at least deserves to be. But he could no longer write those wonderful lyrics which flowed up out of the abundance of his heart: 'eu não a escrevo, d'alma a trasladei' (129). Were Camões in his lyrics merely a successful imitator of Petrarca or *o brando e doce Lasso*, why should we read him? We look for something new in a literature unknown to us; we do not go to Lisbon to gaze into shop-windows which we can see in Paris. But the fact is that in Camões' lyrics—*redon-*

dilhas, canções, oitavas, sextinas, eclogues, odes, and elegies—we enter an enchanted country. They have a peculiar glow and magic which one seeks in vain elsewhere. There is in this poetry something more than *una dolcezza inusitata e nova*; there is also a new experience. In some of the sonnets and *canções* especially, and in the *oitavas* and elegies, there is a fascination which can, perhaps, best be explained by saying that they are the work of a Celtic bard in an orange grove. The spontaneous musical cry of the heart is there, but it is no longer uttered amongst the grey mists and heather of Galicia, but has an added richness of harmony, transparency, and light (rather than colour). It is wedded to the now thoroughly acclimatized Italian metres, but has a vigour and limpidity to be found in few even of the poets of Italy. Glowing and crystalline are indeed the adjectives which best characterize Camões' verse at its best. When he is deeply moved his poetry wells forth in unfailing expression of heart and intellect at one,

till the paper and ink become a living soul. There is nothing which his poetry cannot then express musically and with transparent clearness. And it is so natural and abundant that it flows like a river in flood, 'liquidus puroque similimus amni,' with a rapidity which makes great poetry even of those poems which are marred by ugliness of detail. Take the first stanza of the eclogue which he considered the best of all those that he had then written (130):

Que grande variedade vão fazendo,
 Frondelio amigo, as horas apressadas !
 Como se vão as cousas convertendo
 Em outras cousas varias e inesperadas !
 Um dia a outro dia vai trazendo
 Por suas mesmas horas ja ordenadas ;
 Mas quam conformes são na quantidade
 Tam diferentes são na qualidade.

Here the rhyme adds nothing, rather it detracts from the beauty, but there is thought, feeling, and deep sincerity. A poet less sure of his genius would not have dared to begin this long poem so naturally,

almost carelessly. Camões is so rich in thought and experience and in suffering that he can afford to express himself with a singular simplicity. It is this sincerity and naturalness, combined with vigorous thought and a haunting melancholy and expressed in pure music of a peerlessly pellucid strain, that make of Camões' poetry a new and individual thing. We may say that his *canções* are moulded on those of Petrarca, that in the sonnet *Aquella triste e leda madrugada* he is merely translating Virgil through Petrarca, and in the sonnet *Alma minha gentil* copying Petrarca and Guido Guidiccioni (1500-41); but that does not explain Camões: no one who has read these poems will assert that they are imitative, they are too evidently sprung from a deep individual experience—*puras verdades ja por mim passadas*. Strangford considered Camões one of the most original poets of modern times: 'to that character [originality] he [Camões] has perhaps a juster claim than any of the moderns, Dante alone excepted.' Camões first

sang *com grandes esperanças*, and then with *lembranças tristes*, and the lyrics of the decade 1545-55 set him beside the greatest of the world's poets : after reading them one feels less inclined to quarrel with Storck's verdict that he excels all the poets of the sixteenth century throughout the world (131). During those quiet months at Goa, especially, soon after his arrival, he had preserved his exquisite sensibility, while loss and suffering lent a peculiar quality to his verse. Rarely has poetry had reason to be more thankful than for the destiny which drove Camões across the seas, filling his lyrics with music born of his grief and the *Lusiads* with vivid personal description. Because Camões is so spontaneous and natural, because his lyric vein is so abundant—*que irei fallando sem o sentir mil annos*—it is sometimes thought that he is an example of a poet born, not made. Camões would have said : *nascitur et fit*. It can scarcely be an accident that the phrase *engenho e arte* recurs so frequently in his

poems (132). Some of the years at Coimbra, before he went (or returned) to Lisbon, must have been years of intense study, and of study in many fields—history, philosophy, classical mythology, as well as the poetry of four or five different languages: Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Latin, perhaps Greek. In his studious humanism he was, in fact, well qualified to distinguish with Dante between goose and eagle (133). Camões' poetry is by no means confined to the new Italian metres. His plays were written in *redondilhas*, the native octosyllabic metre of Spain and Portugal, suggested by *cantigas muito velhas* (iv. 413) such as he had heard in his cradle: *tristes versos d'amor* (ii. 211); and in his lyrics, written in the same metre with a variety of excellence, he fascinates all readers by his pensive grace or petulant gaiety, whether he is singing the charms of the enchanting Barbara, deliciously glossing the popular song of Lianor at the fountain, lamenting the years' swift flow, turning a pretty compliment, satirizing passing

events and persons, or, in a higher strain, pouring forth his heart in an 'undisturbèd song of pure concent':

Sobolos rios que vão
 Por Babylonia me achei,
 Onde sentado chorei
 As lembranças de Sião
 E quanto nella passei.

Gil Vicente had plunged both hands into the Middle Ages and given us marvels of lyric song. Sá de Miranda laboured hard to acclimatize the *verso largo* which he had introduced from Italy; Camões in his lyrics, a true child of the Renaissance, combined the natural ease of the old school with the mellow harmonies of the new. In their lightness and substance, impassioned ecstasy linked with thought and clearness, and charged with light and music, he showed what force and vigour the Portuguese language can unite with its melodious softness in the hands of a master. Were Portuguese literature, so rich in varied, fascinating works in prose

and verse, confined to the works of Camões, whom Schlegel considered to be in himself a literature, even then no lover of poetry could afford to neglect the study of the Portuguese language, if only for the sake of reading Camões in the original.

NOTES

(1) Camões figures in Wordsworth's sonnet with Shakespeare, Petrarca, Tasso, Dante, Spenser, and Milton. Six years before Wordsworth's death Elizabeth Barrett Browning referred to Camões as follows in her 'Vision of Poets' (1844):

And Camoens with that look he had
Compelling India's genius sad
From the wave through the Lusiad,
The murmurs of the storm-cape ocean
Indrawn with vibrative emotion
Along the verse.

Earlier, Lord Strangford's *Poems from the Portuguese of Luis de Camoens* (London, 1803) were reprinted in 1804, 1805, 1807, 1808, 1810, and 1824, and Felicia Hemans published her *Translations from Camoens and Other Poets* (Oxford, 1819).

(2) Sir Richard Burton, 'Essay on the Life of Camoens,' in *Camoens: His Life and Lusiads*, vol. i (1881), p. 1.

(3) In *Lusiadas . . . Comentadas*, tom. i, Madrid, 1639, and *Rimas Varias . . . Comentadas*, vol. i, Lisboa, 1685.

(4) Two letters in verse formerly doubtfully ascribed to Camões have been assigned by D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos to Manuel Pereira de Ocem. Many letters by Camões are said to have been preserved in the library of the Conde de Vimieiro until the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. We know nothing of their contents and nothing as to their authenticity. The letter *Esta vai* was printed and annotated by D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol. vii (1883), pp. 438-52.

(5) Probably the name was originally Camaño. Perhaps on the strength of a passage in Camões' lyrics (iv. 23) his name has been derived from the *ave que chamão camão*. In Spanish *camón*, augmentative of *cama*, bed, has half a dozen meanings and the plural *camones*=wooden tyres. A poet Juan Nunez Camanes figures in the old Cancioneiros (*Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, nos. 252-6).

(6) He is mentioned frequently in the chronicles of Fernam Lopez. As a poet he is cited, simply as Camões, in a poem addressed

by Manuel Machado de Azevedo to his brother-in-law Sá de Miranda, as well as by the Marquês de Santillana in his celebrated letter to the Constable D. Pedro.

(7) Frei Nicolau de Santa Maria, *Chronica da Ordem dos Conegos Regrantes do Patriarcha S. Agostinho* (two vols, 1688), vol. ii, p. 290.

(8) Communication (Jan 11, 1917) by Snr. Pedro de Azevedo in *Boletim da Segunda Classe*, vol. xi, fasc. 1 (1917), pp. 24-5. The passage from the MS. is sufficiently important to quote in full: 'Em 25 de novembro [1605] dia de S. Catarina ás 11 horas da noute levou o Senhor ao padre D. Bento sacerdote professo deste mosteiro de Santa Cruz e pouco lhe faltava para ter 60 anos de habito; faleceu de velho com todos os sacramentos e mais bons usos da Religião. Era natural desta cidade de Coimbra, da mais honrada gente della, e teve hum irmão muito privado do principe pay del Rey D. Sebastião que chamavam Simão Vaz de Camões' (ibid., p. 24). Frei Gabriel de Santa Maria professed at Santa Cruz in 1567 (Barbosa Machado, iv. 148).

(9) Camões never refers to brother or sister, but he never refers to father or mother. We

only know that he left no brother or sister alive when he died in 1580.

(10) Sonnet 100, *No mundo poucos annos e cansados*.

(11) The statement occurs in his dedication of the book to the University: . . . 'nacendo elle nessa vossa cidade de Coimbra, a vosso peyto como mãy natural o criastes tantos annos, com vossa doutrina como mestra o ensinastes algũs & com vossos louvores como fiel amiga o honrastes tantas vezes, a quem se nam a vos se deve encomendar esta proteyção de hum vosso filho, discipulo & amigo . . .'

(12) 'O autor deste livro foy Luis de Camões, portugues de nação, nacido e creado na cidade de Lisboa, de pais nobres e conhecidos.'—Corrêa's commentary to the first stanza of Canto I of *Os Lusíadas* (1613). Severim de Faria (f. 92 v.) and the modern biographers, Bishop Lobo, Visconde de Juromenha, and Dr. Braga, support the Lisbon attribution. Storck strongly favours Coimbra. Fernandez' early statement certainly carries weight, and we know independently that he was correct in saying that Camões lived at Coimbra. Two sonnets attributed to Camões cannot be called as evidence, since one (*Fermoso Tejo*, ii. 167)

is by Rodriguez Lobo, the other (*Ja do Mondego*, ii. 56) is by Diogo Bernardez.

(13) 'E se o nosso Camões foy tão illustre em nobreza de entendimento, tambem foy acompanhado do melhor sangue que Portugal produzio. Porq̄ foy filho de Simão Vaz de Camoës, natural desta cidade, o qual indo para a India por Capitão de hũa nao à vista de Goa deu à costa & se saluou en hũa taboa & laa morreo. E de Anna de Macedo, molher nobre de Sanctarem. E foy neto de Antão Vaz de Camoës & de sua molher Guiomar Vaz de Gama, tambem dos nobres Gamas do Algarue. E bisneto de João Vaz de Camoës, morador em Coimbra' (1613 ed. of the *Lusiads*).

(14) 'Sendo moço foy estudar a Coimbra que entam começava a florecer em todas as sciencias.' Cf. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos' note in Storck, *Vida*, p. 217.

(15) Document C. (i. 166-8), quoted *infra* note 47.

(16) 'Y en la lista de el de 1550 hallé este assiento: Luis de Camoens, hijo de Simon Vaz y Ana de Sá, moradores en Lisboa, en la Moraria, escudero, de vinte y cinco años, barbirubio; truxo por fiador a su padre; va en la nave de San Pedro de los Burgaleses.' For the colour of his hair cf. Severim de

Faria, *Discursos Varios*, f. 128 v.: 'Foi Luis de Camões de meam estatura, grosso & cheo de rosto & algũ tanto carregado da fronte; tinha o nariz comprido, leuantado no meo & grosso na ponta...'; his hair 'tão louro que tiraua a açafroado; ainda que não era gracioso em aparêcia era na conversação muito facil, alegre e dizidor, como se ve em seus motes e esparsas.'

(17) *Leal Conselheiro*, 1842 ed., pp. 17-18. He divides man's life into periods of seven years: 'quinta de XXXV, em que se percalça perfeito esforço, conselho e natural entender; e dalli avante per semelhante de sete em sete annos entendo que vão decendo per outros degraaos naturalmente.' Thus the first downward step would be at forty-two.

(18) Corrêa, commentary to the *Lusiads* (1613), f. 264: 'quarenta annos e mais'. Cf. Severim de Faria, *Discursos Varios*, f. 128 v. According to Mariz, Camões arrived at Lisbon in 1569 and 'Depois disto acabou de compor & limar estes seus Cantos q̃ da India trazia cõpostos.'

(19) *Vida*, pp. 126-44.

(20) Of the wicked nurse, stepmother, cousin, and uncle (*Vida*, p. 189) only the cousin now holds his ground.

(21) ii. 211-12. The phrase *materna sepultura*, although used literally by Calderón, is often metaphorical.

(22) The application of the word *fera* to his love is common in Camões. Cf. El. 8 (iii. 193): *formosa fera*; Sonn. 74 (ii. 38): *aquella fera humana*; Ode 2 (ii. 261): *formosa mansa fera*; Ode 4 (ii. 266): *formosa fera humana*; Ode 14 (ii. 292): *esta bella fera*; Egl. 2 (iii. 38): *esta fera*; Egl. 6 (iii. 79): *fera*; Egl. 7 (iii. 89): *gentis feras*.

(23) iv. 135, 136: Naciendo mesquino Dolor fué mi cama, Tristeza fué el ama, Cuidado el padrino. Cf. Ode 10 (ii. 281-2): no berço instituido . . . quem logo fraco infante d'outro mais poderoso foi sujeito e para cego amante desde o principio feito.

(24) Dr. Braga considers that Camões is referring not to his mother but to his mother country, already in crisis, an interpretation even more far-fetched than that of Dr. Storck.

(25) ii. pp. 188-190:

Vão as serenas agoas
Do Mondego decendo
E mansamente até o mar não param,
Por onde as minhas magoas
Pouco a pouco crescendo

Para nunca acabar-se começaram.
 Ali se me mostraram
 Neste lugar ameno
 Em que inda agora mouro
 Testa de neve e de ouro,
 Riso brando e suave. olhar sereno,
 Um gesto delicado
 Que sempre na alma m'estará pintado.
 Nesta florida terra,
 Leda, fresca e serena,
 Ledo e contente para mi vivia.

(26) *The Lusiad*. 3rd ed., vol. i (1791), p. ccxcviii. Cf. Severim de Faria, *Discursos Varios*, f. 122: 'a universal noticia que teue das sciências & letras humanas'.

(27) *Quam bem que soa o verso castelhano!* he exclaims as he breaks into Spanish verse in the eclogue *Que grande variedade*.

(28) *Bristo*, dedication.

(29) If Chiado's *Pratica de Oito Figuras* was acted at Coimbra and Camões took one of the parts, the negro's *Tem nigria bonitia*, *Chama elle Caterina* (ed. A. Pimentel, p. 13) may have had some point, always assuming that the fair unknown of Coimbra and the Court are one and the same person. The objection that *Os Amphitryões* cannot have been acted at Coimbra because in Act I,

sc. iii it refers to Alfama: 'Que não digão os d'Alfama que não tenho namorada' is not very strong, since this would be just the kind of allusion likely to be added when the play was acted later at Lisbon.

(30) Juromenha. Document O (v. 317-8). Document N shows that he was a native of Coimbra. He was pardoned in 1558 (Document M) on condition of not going within ten leagues of Coimbra, a condition subsequently remitted.

(31) Faria e Sousa was a great champion of Natercia. He bodily transferred the sonnet *Na margem* (ii. 74) from Diogo Bernardez to Camões, substituting the name Natercia for Marília. *Oitavas* iv, in which the name Natercia occurs, were discovered and amended by the same Faria e Sousa. The acrostic Luis-Caterina de Ataíde (iv. 171) is apocryphal.

(32) '*Como alguns dizem* homiziado ou desterrado por huns amores nos paços da Rainha' (Pedro de Mariz); 'huns amores que, *segundo dizem*, tomou no paço' (Severim de Faria). Thus the tradition begins with vague gossip. 'Quien aya sido esta dama no consta' said Faria e Sousa in his first *Vida* (1639).

(33) J. M. Rodrigues, *Camões e a Infanta D. Maria*, in *O Instituto*, vol. lv (1908), pp. 121-5, &c.

(34) El. xv. (iii. 219): 'Mostrou-me um leve bem minha ventura, Paguei-o logo com longo tormento'; *ibid.* (p. 220): 'No principio meu fado me foi amigo, Naveguei pelo mar deste desejo'; Ecl. i. (iii. 8): 'A grande confiança não é sempre ajudada da ventura'; *Oitavas* i. (ii. 303): 'Fortuna co' o amor se conjurou.' Cf. Sonnet 286 (*Quem vos levou*): 'A fe que tinheis dado me negastes quando mais nella estava confiado.' In Sonnet 289 (*Diana prateada*) he speaks of himself as *tão chêo de favores*, a phrase which may have been copied from this sonnet by Mariz: *chêo de muitos favores*.

(35) *Canção* ii. (ii. 183. . Entenderam o fim de meu desejo ou por outro despejo que a lingua descobrio por desvario . . . me gabei de conseguir um bem de tanto preço'; Ecl. iii. (iii. 46, 47): 'Mas teu sobejo e livre atrevimento, e teu pouco segredo, descuidando, Foi causa deste longo apartamento . . . te quis muito em quanto Deus queria . . . de teus descuidos e ousadia Naceo tão dura e aspera mudança' [it is Belisa speaking to Almeno]. He constantly refers to his *erros*

—‘amor que me condena me fez caer na culpa e mais na pena’ (ii. 183); ‘triste quem se sente magoado de erros’ (Sonnet 75, ii. 38: *Ditoso seja*); ‘erros meus, má fortuna, amor ardente em minha perdição se conjuraram’ (Sonnet 193, ii. 97); ‘erros passados’ (Sonnet 179: *Os meus alegres*); in his letter *Desejei tanto* he speaks of himself as ‘sem pecado que me obrigasse a tres dias de purgatorio’, cf. El. i. (iii. 164): ‘pouca culpa . . . sem razão a pena’—and as constantly pleads that love and reason do not fit into one sack: ‘Onde viste tu, Nympha, amor sisudo?’ (iii. 45); ‘que tudo emfim tu, puro amor, desprezas’ (Lus. iii. 122); ‘Sempre razão vencida foi de amor’ (Sonnet 149); ‘Mas amor não se rege por razão’ (Sonnet 49: *Ja é tempo*); see especially the important passage in Ecl. ii. (iii. 31–32):

Ó que triste successo foi de amores
 O que a este pastor aconteeo . . .
 Não pode quem quer muito ser culpado
 Em nenhum erro quando vem a ser
 Este amor em doudice transformado.
 Amor não será amor se não vier
 Com doudices, deshonoras, dissensões,
 Pazes, guerras, prazer e desprazer;
 Perigos, linguas más, murmurações,

Ciumes, arruidos, competencias,
 Temores, nojos, mortes, perdições.
 Estas são verdadeiras penitencias
 De quem põe o desejo onde não deve,
 De quem engana alheias inocencias.
 Mas isto tem o amor que não se escreve
 Senão donde é illicito e custoso,
 E donde é mais o risco mais se atreve.

(36) El. xiv. (iii. 216).

(37) *Canção* iv. (ii. 189). Cf. Sonnet 174 (ii. 88: *Ah Fortuna cruel*): 'Quão asinha . . . em hũa hora'; Sonnet 337 (ii. 169: *Memoria de meu bem*): 'Perdi n' hũa hora quanto em termos tão vagarosos e largos alcancei'; Sonnet 177 (ii. 89: *Quando os olhos*): 'Os castellos que erguia o pensamento, No ponto que mais altos os erguia Por esse chão os via em um momento.'

(38) Cf. *El Rei Seleuco*, iv. 196: 'Sam ja chegadas as figuras?' and *Auto da Natural Invençam*: 'Que é das figuras? Vem ja?' (ed. Conde de Sabugosa (1917), p. 69).

(39) *Filodemo*, Act v. sc. i. (iv. 408): 'por ousadia . . . tão sobeja ousadia . . . Senhora se me atrevi fiz tudo o que Amor ordena.' Cf. V. iii. (p. 414): 'seu pae a achou esta noite no jardim com Filodemo.'

(40) El. i. (iii. 163-6: *O sulmonense*

Ovidio): 'A vida com que morro, desterrado
Do bem que em outro tempo possuia.'

(41) 'Não vejo senão montes pedregosos,
E sem graça e sem flor os campos vejo Que
ja floridos vira e graciosos, Vejo o puro,
suave e rico Tejo' (iii. 165).

(42) 'E todalas vezes que no poeta des-
terrado por sua razão lhe falava, sempre
em resposta havia que assim não era e que
fora aquela alma grande que para empresas
grandes e a regioens tão apartadas o levará'
(Juromenha, i. 33), cf. Storck, *Vida*, pp. 339-41.

(43) The vagueness of Camoensian chrono-
logy is shown by the difference of four years
in the date of the departure to Africa in
various biographers: 1546 (Juromenha), 1547
(Braga), 1549 (Storck), 1550 (Bishop Lobo and
F. A. Leoni). See Storck, *Vida*, p. 399.

(44) He alludes to the loss in the auto-
biographical *Canção* x (*Vinde ca*):

Fez-me deixar o patrio ninho amado,
Passando o longo mar, que ameaçando
Tantas vezes m' esteve a vida cara ;
Agora experimentando a furia rara
De Marte que nos olhos quis que logo
Visse e tocasse o acerbo fruto seu,
E neste escudo meu
A pintura verão do infesto fogo. (ii. 215.)

Longo mar is of course true of the voyage from Lisbon to Ceuta. There are also several indications of the loss of his eye in the lyrics.

But the most definite passage is that in his letter *Desejei tanto* (v. 220: '*sicut et nos, manqueja de um olho*'), which proves that he had lost his eye before going to India. That it was the right eye is proved by the portrait engraved by Gaspar Severim de Faria. See Storck, *Vida*, p. 406 (note by D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos). This portrait is reproduced in the 1921 facsimile edition of the *Lusiads*.

(45) iv. 100: 'A Dona Francisca de Aragão, que lhe mandou glosar este verso' (she subsequently married a son of St. Francis of Borgia, Duke of Gandia); iv. 42: 'A hũa dama que lhe chamou cara sem olhos'; iv. 55: 'A hũa dama que lhe chamou diabo'; iv. 85: 'A hũa senhora que lhe chamou diabo'.

(46) Juromenha, i. 136, 137.

(47) *Carta de perdão* (Juromenha, Document C: i. 166-8): '... Luis Vaaz de Camões filho de Symão Vaaz Causal^{ro} fidalguo de minha casa morador em esta cidade de lixboa me enviou dizer per sua pitiçam que elle estaa preso no tronquo desta cidade por ser

culpado em hũa deuassa que se tirou sobre o ferimento de gonçallo borges que tinha careguo dos meus arreos por se dizer que andando o dito gonçallo borges passeando a caualllo no recio desta cidade dia de Corpore Xpti na rua de Sancto antão alem de S. Dominguos defronte das casas de pero vaaz que dous homens emmascarados a caualllo se poseram a passear e zombar com o dito gonçallo borges, e que na dita zombaria vieram a haver brigaas d'arrancar, e que elle soplicante acudira em fauor dos ditos emmascarados conhecendo os por serem seus amigos. E que de preposito com hũa espada ferira ao dito gonçallo borges de hũa ferida no pescoço junto do cabello do toutiço, estando eu [King João III] nesta cidade com minha corte e caza de supricaçam, e leuando outros em sua companhia. E o dito gonçallo borges he são e sem aleijão nem desformidade e lhe tem perdoado como se mostra do perdão junto a sua pitiçam, e elle sopricante he hum mancebo e pobre e me vay este anno servir a India . . . e querendo lhe fazer graça e merce tenho por bem e me praz de lhe perdoar a culpa que tem no caso conteudo em sua pitiçam pelo modo que nella declara, visto o perdam que apresenta, e paguará

quatro mil reis pera piedade . . . Vos mando que o mandeis soltar se por al não for preso . . . Dada em esta minha cidade de Lixboa aos sete dias do mes de março e feita aos 3 do dito mes . . . mil quinhentos e cincoenta e tres . . .'

(48) 'A piedade humana me faltava, A gente amiga ja contraria via, No perigo primeiro; e no segundo Terra em que pôr os pes me fallecia, Ar para respirar se me negava E faltava-me, enfim, o tempo e o mundo' (ii. 215). Cf. ii. 216: 'Enfim não houve trance de fortuna, &c.'

(49) See Camões' letter from India beginning *Desejei tanto* (v. 219).

(50) Diogo do Couto. *Dialogo do Soldado Pratico* (1790), p. 2: *aquella confusão de Babel*.

(51) El. iii (*O poeta Simonides*), iii. 171. Cf. iii. 172:

Eu trazendo lembranças por antolhos
Trazia os olhos nagoa socegada
E a agoa sem socego nos meus olhos.
A bem-aventurança ja passada
Diante de mi tinha tão presente
Como se não mudasse o tempo nada,
E com o gesto immoto e descontente,

Com um suspiro profundo e mal ouvido
Por não mostrar meu mal a toda a gente, &c.

(52) 'Seis meses de má vida por esse mar' (Letter from Goa: *Desejei tanto*). He must have reached Mozambique in July or August. We know that D. João de Castro a few years earlier left Lisbon on April 6, arrived at Mozambique on July 28 and at Goa on September 11. (See D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos' note in Storck, *Vida*, p. 448.) Many ships took much longer or did not arrive at all. Of the four ships which sailed from Lisbon in March 1553 only the S. Bento reached Goa that year. 'Entrando o verão' says Couto (*Decadas* VI, x. 14, 1781 ed., p. 494), sendo poucos dias de Setembro, chegaram á barra de Goa duas naos do Reyno, hũa . . . que ficou o anno passado invernando em Mozambique; e a outra era a nao S. Bento, em que vinha Fernão de [Fernand'] Alvarez Cabral, que o Março atras passado de sincoenta e dous [tres] tinha partido do Reyno por Capitão mór de quatro naos, e dellas só esta chegou a Goa.' Of the S. Bento, wrecked on the return voyage, Manuel Mesquita de Perestrello says that 'era a maior e melhor que então havia

na carreira' (*Historia Tragico-Maritima*, 1904 ed., vol. i, p. 47).

- (53) Desta arte me chegou minha ventura
A esta desejada e longa terra,
De todo pobre honrado sepultura.

(iii. 174.)

(54) Sonnet 24 (ii. 13). This beautiful sonnet is usually supposed to refer to a parting before the poet sailed for India, although it would have been more than difficult for him to see Natercia, even if she were in Lisbon, between the date of the *Carta de perdão* and that of his departure.

- (55) Foi logo necessario termos guerra.
Hũa ilha que o Rei de Porcá tem
E que o Rei de Pimenta lhe tomara
Fomos tomar-lha, e succedeo-nos bem.
Com hũa grossa armada que juntara
O viso-Rei de Goa nos partimos
Com toda a gente d'armas que s'achara.
E com pouco trabalho destruimos
A gente no curvo arco exercitada ;
Com morte, com incendios os punimos.
Era a ilha com agoas alagada
De modo que se andava em almadias,
Emfim outra Veneza trasladada.
Nella nos detuvimos sós dous dias
Que foram para alguns os derradeiros,

Pois passaram da Estyge as ondas frias.

(iii. 174, 175.)

For Couto's account of this expedition see *Decadas* VI, x. 14, 15 (1781 ed., pp. 499-508).

(56) Couto, VI, x. 14 (1781 ed., p. 499).

(57) See Storck, *Vida*, pp. 519-27.

(58) For this expedition see Couto, VI, x. 18, 20 (1781 ed., pp. 520-2, 525-8, 537-48).

The authenticity of the sonnet 282: *N'a ribeira do Eufrates assentado* (ii. 142) is not certain, and in any case it is not to be taken to mean literally that Camões sat on the bank of the Euphrates.

(59) (i) D. Afonso de Noronha, 1550-1554.

(ii) D. Pedro de Mascarenhas, Sept. 1554-1555.

(iii) Francisco Barreto, June 16, 1555-1558 (Sept. 3) [Governor].

(iv) D. Constantino de Braganza, 1558-1561 (Sept. 7).

(v) D. Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, 1561-1564 (Feb. 19).

(vi) D. João de Mendonça, Feb. 19-Sept. 3, 1564 [Governor].

(vii) D. Antão de Noronha, 1564-1568 (Sept. 10).

(viii) D. Luis de Ataide, 1568-1571 (Sept. 3).

(60) *Peregrinação*, cap. 3 ad init.

(61) Couto speaks of *gente da Índia chocalheira* (*Dialogo do Soldado Pratico Portugues*, p. 94), of the *alvitreiros e novelheiros* of India (*Dialogo do Soldado Pratico*, p. 102), cf. *Dec.* VI, viii. 13: 'a [gente] da Índia he mais amiga de novidades que todas as do mundo', Corrêa of the *mixeriqueiros*, &c. Couto wished to banish the meddlesome and malicious busybodies to St. Helena. Afonso de Albuquerque wished to send some of them home in a cage. Of Goa Couto says that 'he outra Lisboa em nobreza e delicias' (*Dialogo do Soldado Pratico Portugues*, p. 89); 'a Cidade de Goa, tirando esta de Lisboa, não tem S. Alteza outra como ella, nobre e rica por fazendas e tratos e rendimentos e forte por armas e armadas, povoada de muitos fidalgos, cavalheiros e cidadãos'.

(*ib.*, pp. 108-9.)

(62) Faria e Sousa. *Second Life*, § 19.

(63) Couto, *Dialogo do Soldado Pratico*, p. 99: 'Desembargador da Relação de Goa, Chanceller, Juiz dos Feitos, Provedor dos defuntos, porque com qualquer destes ficarei mui bem remediado . . . mas he necessario que quem houver de servir esses cargos seja letrado e visto em ambos os direitos.' Mariz

refers to the *enchente de bens* that Camões derived from his administration as Provedor, but this was only a surmise on his part.

(64) This made Mickle very angry, all the more so because 'the facts were immediately objected to Voltaire, but at first he would not yield' (*The Lusiad* (1776), p. cxxv) in his 'most superficial and erroneous' statements. They were published in England and in English in Voltaire's *Essay on the Epic Poetry of the European Nations* (see Mickle, *The Lusiad*, 1791 ed., vol. i. p. cccxvii) and later translated into French with alterations (*Essai sur la poésie épique*, Paris, 1843).

(65) Cf. *Lusiads*, ii. 93:

ramos de palmeira,
Dos que vencem coroa verdadeira.

(66) Cf. Couto, *Dec.* VII, ii. 11: 'os palmares . . . lhe dam todos os mantimentos . . . que são cocos, assucar, azeite, vinho, vinagre.'

(67) Severim de Faria believed the Eastern island to be Ternate, and this is accepted by two modern Portuguese critics, the Morgado de Matheus and Sousa Monteiro.

(68) Storck (*Vida*, p. 589) gives the size as 135 centimetres \times 322 \times 450.

(69) 'E não lhe valeo a excellencia de sua poesia para deixar de ser preso na India pelo Governador Francisco Barreto e de vir capitulado a este reyno.'

(70) *Lus. x. 128*:

Este receberá placido e brando
 No seu regaço os cantos que molhados
 Vem do naufragio triste e miserando,
 Dos procelosos baixos escapado,
 Das fomes, dos perigos grandes, quando
 Será o injusto mando executado
 Naquelle cuja lira sonora
 Será mais afamada que ditosa.

(text of 1st ed.)

(71) This important letter is printed in Snr. Jordão de Freitas' *O Naufragio de Camões e dos Lusiadas* (Lisboa, 1915), pp. 9-11: 'no meio do golfo de China hũa baixa . . . e eu só nũa pequena barca com vinte e tres pessoas me salvei pela fieira de fome e sede por partes remotas e estranhas'. For Sousa's complaints at being deprived of being Provedor, see J. de Freitas. *Camões em Macau* (Lisboa, 1911), p. 19.

(72) The words 'Chegando a Goa desta maneira' in Sousa's account of the shipwreck do not necessarily imply that he went all the

way to Goa in a small boat, but that he arrived there after the shipwreck. The *no estio* (European winter) of *Lus.* x. 127 would suit the time of Sousa's shipwreck.

(73) *Lus.* x. 127.

(74) Storck, *Vida*, p. 598.

(75) Severim de Faria, *Vida*, § 4.

(76) Juromenha, i. 81-4.

(77) *Decadas* and *Dialogo do Soldado Pratico*, passim.

(78) Cf. *Lendas*, passim, e.g. iv. 730: 'sómente os pobres padecem', iv. 669: 'em Goa . . . os nobres leterados e doutores vem pobres, e destes taes bocados engrossão elles e todos seus familiares.'

(79) iv. 83. Trovas que mandou o autor da cadeia, em que o tinha embargado por hũa divida Miguel Roiz, Fois Secos d'alcunha, ao Conde de Redondo, D. Francisco Coutinho, Viso-Rei, que se embarcava para fora, pedindo-lhe o fizesse desembargar:

Que diabo he tão danado
Que não tema a cutilada
Dos fios secos da espada
Do fero Miguel armado?
Pois se tanto um golpe seu
Soa na infernal cadeia,

Do que o demonio arreceia,
Como não fugirei eu?

Com razão lhe fugiria
Se contr' elle e contra tudo
Não tivesse um forte escudo
Só em Vossa Senhoria.
Por tanto, Senhor, proveja,
Pois me tem ao remo atado,
Que antes que seja embarcado
Eu desembargado seja.

The pun in the last lines was evidently inserted as being of the kind that would delight the Viceroy. For the Viceroy's expedition see Couto, *Dec.* VII, x. 9.

(80) iv. 34-6, 36-7.

(81) iv. 118. Endechas a Barbara es-
crava:

Aquella cativa
Que me tem cativo
Porque nella vivo
Ja não quer que viva.
Eu nunca vi rosa
Em suaves môlhos
Que para meus olhos
Fosse mais formosa, &c.

(The reminiscence of Santillana's *Moza tan
fermosa* is obvious.) Storck (*Vida*, p. 723)

considers that Camões refers to this slave-girl in the well-known sonnet beginning :

Em prisões baixas foi um tempo atado ;
and a careful reading of the whole sonnet seems to bear out the conjecture.

(82) iv. 32-4 and 432-6 ; Storck, *Vida*, pp. 617-19. The names of Camões' five friends were D. Vasco de Ataíde, D. Francisco de Almeida, João Lopez Leitão, Francisco de Mello, and Heitor da Silveira (*O Drago*), or, according to a MS. belonging to the Visconde de Juromenha, Jorge de Moura.

(83) Dr. Theophilo Braga thinks that he was very favourable to Camões and gave him the reversion to the post of Factor at Chaul, but *proveu* is not proof. T. Braga, *História da Litteratura Portuguesa*, ii. *Renascença* (Porto, 1914), p. 466. As to the continual changes, it may be sufficient to quote one brief passage from Corrêa's *Lendas* (iii. 897) which is eloquent : ' cada tres annos tornão a servir de nouo e assy enuelhecem e pobres vão morrer no espirital '.

(84) Juromenha, Document L. (i. 172-3) : ' . . . avendo respeito aos serviços de Simão Vaz de Camões e aos de Luis de Camõis [*sic*] seu filho, cavalleiro de minha casa, e a não entrar na feytoria de Chaul de que era provido

e a vagarem por sua morte quinze mil reis de tença, hei por bem e me praz fazer merce a Anna de Sá sua molher do dito Simão Vas e may do dito Luis de Sá de Camões de nove mil reis de tença em cada um anno e dias de sua vyda alem dos seis mil reis que ja tem de tença pellos ditos respeitos ...' [document of February 5, 1585].

(85) The passage referring to Camões occurs in the eighth Decad. The eighth and ninth Decads were scarcely completed (1614) when the MS. of them was stolen from Couto during an illness. Couto was then seventy-two, but he rewrote them in an abridged form, and in this form they were printed. The following is the passage as it occurs in the printed version (*Dec.* viii. 28, 1786 ed., p. 233): 'Em Moçambique achámos aquelle Principe dos Poetas de seu tempo, meu matalote e amigo Luiz de Camões tão pobre que comia de amigos, e pera se embarcar pera o Reyno lhe ajuntámos os amigos toda a roupa que houve mister, e não faltou quem lhe desse de comer, e aquelle inverno que esteve em Moçambique acabou de aperfeiçoar as suas [*sic*] Lusiadas pera as imprimir, e foi escrevendo muito em hum livro que hia fazendo, que intitulava *Parnasso de Luiz de Camões*, livro

de muita erudição, doutrina e filosofia, o qual lhe furtaram e nunca pude saber no Reyno delle, por muito que o inquirei, e foi furto notavel; e em Portugal morreu este excellente Poeta em pura pobreza.' A few years ago Snr. José Maria Augusto da Costa discovered in the Biblioteca Publica Municipal of Oporto the following passages in what claims to be a copy of the original stolen MS. of Couto's eighth Decad. They were printed by Snr. João Grave in an article entitled *Para a história da literatura quinhentista. Um soneto inédito de Camões?* in the *Boletim da Segunda Classe* of the Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa, vol. xi. fasc. 2 (1918), pp. 1041-8: [Couto MS.] 'Aqui em Moçambique achamos aquelle principe dos Poetas dos nossos tempos, Luiz de Camões, de quem fui especial amigo, e contemporaneo nos estudos em Portugal, e na India matalotes, muytos tempos de casa e mesa, o qual tinha ido áquella fortaleza em companhia de P^o Barreto Rolim, quando foi entrar naquella Capitania, porque lhe desejou elle de lhe faser bem e o por em estado de se poder ir pera o Reyno por estar muito pobre, porque da Viagem que fez a China por Provedor dos defuntos que lhe o Governador fran^{co} Barretto deu vindo de lá se foi

perder na Costa de Sião, onde se saluarão todos despidos e o Camões por dita escapou com as suas Lusiadas como elle diz nellas e aly se lhe afogou hũa moça China que trasia m^{to} fermosa com q. vinha embarcado e muyto obrigado, e em terra fez sonetos a sua morte em que entrou aquelle q. diz :

Alma minha gentil que te partiste
tam cedo desta vida descontente,
repousa tu no ceu eternamente
e viva eu qua na terra sempre triste.

A esta chama elle em suas obras dignam^{te}, em suas obras dinamente [=Dinamene]. Aly fez tambem aquella grave e docta Canção q. começa :

Sobre os rios que vão . . .

De como este homem teve sempre estrela de poeta que he serem todos pobres, e hũa natureza terribel [cf. Pedro Mariz : ou tinha algũa propiedade natural que afastaua os homens de lhe fazerem bem] e enfim pouca ventura, veo por sua condiçam a quebrar com elle o P^o Barretto e a deitalo de si ; pello que ficou em estado de viver desmolas de algũas pessoas, e sabendo estarmos na Barra de Mozambique me mandou este Soneto q. trago aqui para

testemunha do miseravel estado em que estava :

Soneto de Luiz de Camões a Diogo do Couto.

Amado Couto, o largo e poderoso . . .

Este Inverno reformou o Camões suas *Lusiadas* e me pedio lhas comentasse, o que eu comecei a fazer e tendo quatro cantos findos . . . Neste inverno começou Luiz de Camões a compor hum livro m^{to} docto de m^{ta} erudição que intitulou *Paranasso* [*sic*] de Luis de Camões, porque continha muyta poesia, filosofia e outras Ciencias, o qual lhe desapareceo e nunca pude em Portugal saber delle.' The ignorant copyist knew nothing of Dinamene nor that Couto would write not Luiz but Luis and, in all probability, *os*, not *as Lusiadas*. But is the whole passage one of those forgeries in which the seventeenth century was so fertile in Portugal? It is unlike Couto to be so expansive, the printed eighth Decad already goes further than is his wont in reference to literary friends, and although he quotes Camões in *Dec. VII. x. 11* he never quotes so fully : a whole *quintilha* of *Sobolos rios* and the whole sonnet addressed to Couto are given in the new Couto MS. Couto, who was himself a poet and a good

judge of poetry, would have appreciated the improvement *repousa tu* for *repousa lá* in Camões' famous sonnet, but he could only have printed so cold and jejune a poem as the *Amado Couto* sonnet to prove to how low a state Camões was reduced at Mozambique. Nor can the poem *Sobolos rios* have been written at that time, although Camões may then have revised it and copied it into his *Parnasso*. If we accept the statement that Camões and Couto studied together, we should have to place Camões' birth at earliest about 1535 (we know how early service in North Africa was entered on, and he would still be a *mancebo* in 1553). Assuming that these passages are the work of Couto, we must remember that he was writing in old age. They tell us at once too little and too much, and seem based on inference, from the early biographers and from Camões' poems, rather than on fact. Any one reading the Dinamene group of sonnets might easily connect the sonnet *Alma minha gentil* with them. There is no doubt whatever that in some at least of these sonnets Camões was mourning with heartfelt sorrow the death of one drowned. In Sonnet 53 (ii. 27) her name is Nise and the last line : ' Pois assi me levais a causa dellas '

must only refer to a parting across the sea. (Cf. Sonnet 99 (ii. 50: *O raio cristallino*): 'Nise . . . donde a vida deixava se partia' and Bernardim Ribeiro's 'As aguas levam seu bem, elle leva o seu pesar'.) And it is in this sonnet that Montano or the poet bewails her loss on *hũa praia do Indico Oceano*. (In Sonnet 23, *Cara minha inimiga*, the words 'Eternamente as agoas lograrão A tua peregrina formosura' seem better suited to a burial at sea than to a death by drowning on a *praia*.) It may very well be that the sonnet *Alma minha gentil* was not addressed to Natercia, D. Caterina de Ataide, or the Infanta Maria, but to Dinamene or Nise. It is unnecessary, however, to follow the Couto MS. in converting her into a Chinese girl; not that this could detract from the beauty of the sonnet, however much it might have perturbed Southey, who translated it (*Meek spirit*), but that it seems to be less a fact than an unwarranted deduction from various passages in Camões' works. At least, we can now no longer say with Storck (*Sämmtliche Werke*, Bd. ii (1880), p. 370): 'Es wird allgemein angenommen dass das Gedicht auf den Tod Katharinas de Ataide sich beziehe; dann fällt seine Abfassung in das Jahr 1558.'

(86) Couto, *Dec.* VIII. xxviii, 1786 ed., pp. 232, 233: 'e chegámos a Cascaes em Abril e ahi surgimos por estar a Cidade de peste . . . e o dia que vimos a roca de Sintra faleceo Heitor da Silveira por vir ja muito mal ; e as naos chegaram em fim de Maio ou ja em Junho.' Had Camões been on the same ship as Couto he would probably have mentioned him with his other *matalotes*, unless the former passage about their paying for his fare was held to suffice. We can say with certainty that Camões reached Portugal in the spring of 1570 (probably in April, perhaps in May or June).

(87) Agora peregrino vago errante
Vendo nações, linguagens e costumes,
Ceos varios, qualidades diferentes,
Só por seguir com passos diligentes
A ti, Fortuna injusta.

(ii. p. 215.)

(88) In the ode (No. 7 *A quem darão de Pindo*, ii. 273-5), addressed to D. Manuel de Portugal, Camões promises him eternal glory: 'Vos, por quem restituída Se ve da poesia ja perdida A honra e gloria igual, Senhor Dom Manuel de Portugal, Imitando os espiritos ja passados, Gentis, altos, reais, Honra benigna dais A meu tão baixo quão zeloso

engenho, Por Mecenas a vos celebro e tenho.'

The date of this ode is, however, uncertain.

(89) Juromenha, Document D. (i. 168):
 'Alvará de privilegio a Luiz de Camões para a impressão dos Lusiadas: Eu [Ev] El [el] Rey faço saber a quantos este Alvara virem que eu ey por bem e [&] me praz dar licença a Luis de Camões [Camoës] para [pera] que possa fazer imprimir [imprimir] nesta cidade de Lisboa hũa obra em outava [Octava] rima chamada os [Os] Lusiadas que contem dez cantos perfeitos, na qual por ordem poetica em versos se declarão os principaes feitos dos Portuguezes [Portugueses] nas partes da India depois que se descobrio a navegação [nauegação] para [pera] ellas por mandado [mãdado] d'El-Rey [del Rey] D. [dom] Manoel meu visavo [visauo] . . . e se o dito Luis de Camões tiver [tiuer] acrescentados [acrecentados] mais alguns [algũs] Cantos [cantos] tambem se imprimirão avendo [auendo] para [pera] isso licença do santo officio . . . em Lisboa a XXIII [xxiiij] de setembro [Setembro] de MDLXXI.' The words in square brackets show where the original differs from the copy made by Juromenha.

(90) Os | Lvsíadas | de Luis de Ca-|moës.|
 Com privilegio | real.| Impressos em Lisboa,

com licença da | Sancta Inquisição, & do
Ordina-|rio: em casa de Antonio | Gõcaluez
Impressor. | 1572.

(91) Juromenha had noticed (i. 446) that the case was not unique. But see Dr. J. M. Rodrigues' introduction to the 1921 facsimile of the 1st edition, p. i, n. 1, and p. ix.

(92) Juromenha, Document F (i. 169-70): 'Eu El Rey faço saber aos que este aluará virem que avendo respeito ao seruiço que Luis de Camões caualleiro fidalgo de minha casa me tem feyto nas partes da India por muitos annos e aos que espero que ao diante me fará e a informaçam que tenho de seu engenho e habilidade, e a suficiencia que mostrou no liuro que fez das cousas da India ey por bem e me praz de lhe fazer merce de quinze mil reis de tença em cada hum anno por tempo de tres annos somente que começaram de doze dias de março deste anno presente de mil quinhentos setenta e dous... com certidão... de como elle Luis de Camões reside em minha corte... Simão Boralho a fez em Lisboa a XXVIII de Julho de 1572.'

(93) C. Castello Branco, *Luis de Camões* (Porto e Braga, 1880), p. 61. The sentence 'e aos [seruiços] que espero que adiante me

fará' is a mere phrase usual in such grants of pensions.

(94) As did Lourenço Crasbeeck two years later (1626 ed. of *Os Lusíadas*).

(95) Trancoso, *Historias Proveitosas*, ii. 5: 'comprou um pão de dous reis e os outros dous de vinho, que era bastante para um almoço.'

(96) 'Depois disto acabou de compor & limar estes seus Cantos ã da India trazia cõpostos & no seu naufragio saluara com grandetrabalho, como elle diz na octava acima referida. E logo no anno de setenta & dous os imprimio & ficou residindo em Corte por obrigação da tensinha que el Rey lhe dera. Mas tam pobre sempre ã pedindolhe Ruy Diaz da Camara, fidalgo bem conhecido, lhe traduzisse em verso os Psalmos Penitenciaes & não acabando de o fazer, por mais que para isso o estimulaua, se foy a elle o fidalgo & perguntandolhe queyxoso porque lhe não acabaua de fazer o que lhe prometera hauia tanto tempo, sendo tam grande Poeta & que tinha composto tam famoso Poema, elle lhe respondeo ã quando fezera aquelles Cantos era mancebo, farto & namorado, querido & estimado & cheo de muytos fauores & merces de amigos & de damas, com que o calor

Poetico se augmentaua, E que agora não tinha espiritu nem contentamento para nada, Porque aly estaua o seu Iao que lhe pedia duas moedas para caruão & elle as não tinha para as dar'; 'de noyte pedia esmola para o ajudar a sustentar'; 'tanto que o Iao morreo não durara elle muytos meses', &c.

(97) Juromenha, Document G (i. 170): 'Ey por bem fazer merce a Luis de Camões dos quinze mil reis... por tempo de tres annos mais que se começarão do tempo em que se acabarão os outros tres annos... com certidão do Scripvão da matricolla de como reside na minha corte', &c.

(98) Juromenha, Document H (i. 170): '15.000 reis no thesoureiro mor a Luis de Camões que lhe são deuydos de sua tença do anno pasado de 1575 que lhe não forão leuados no caderno do asentamento do dito janeiro nem paguos em parte alguma por a prouisão da dita tença não estar asentada no Livro da fazenda. Em Lixboa a 22 de Junho de 1576 pelo dito Miguel Coresma.' The story, recorded by Lourenço Crasbeeck (*Os Lusíadas*, 1626 ed.), that Camões wished his Majesty would turn the *réis* into lashes for his officials, if not true was *ben trovato*.

(99) Juromenha, Document I (i. 171). It

is dated June 2, 1578, and ends as follows :
'E posto que acima diga que o dito Luis de Camões comece a vencer os ditos quinze mil reis de dous dias do mes dagosto deste anno presente não os vencerá senão de xii dias de Março pasado do dito anno em diante que he o tempo em que se acabarão os tres annos que lhe foram dados pela dita apostilla.'

(100) *Lusiads* i. 6.

(101) Juromenha i. 126: 'Em fim acabarei a vida e verão todos que foi tão afeiçoado á minha patria que não só me contentei de morrer nella mas com ella.' The letter itself is, however, not extant.

(102) '¿ cosa mas lastimosa q̄ ver vn tá grá ingenio mal logrado. Yo lo vi morir en vn hospital en lisboa sin tener vna sauana có que cubrirse despues de auer trihũfado en la india oriental y de auer naegado 5500 leguas p̄ mar q̄ auiso tá gráde p^a los q̄ de noche y de dia se cásan estudiando sin prouecho como la araña en vrdir tellas p^a cazar moscas.' No biographer of Camões seems to have seen this copy of the *Lusiads* since 1817. The note was copied by Princess Liechtenstein in *Holland House* (1874), vol. ii, pp. 176-8, but for the following information and for the accurate text of the

note given above I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Henry Thomas, of the British Museum, who through the courtesy of Lord Ilchester was enabled to examine the volume in December 1921. It is a 1572 copy of the *Lusiads*, with the pelican looking to the right, and belonged formerly to the Convent of Guadalcazar (Barefoot Carmelites). On the recto of a fly-leaf is 'Given to me by R^t H^{on} J. H. Frere. November 1812. V^{ll} [=Vassall] Holland', and on the verso is a note by Frere: 'This book was brought to me accidentally at Seville. The reverse of the title-page contains the attestation of an ocular witness to the circumstances of Camoens' death (a circumstance which I did not discover till the book was in my possession).' A further note, on fol. 2, says: 'Adviertase q̄ ba [or va?] cōmentado y declarados los vocablos portugueses y las ciudades orientales p̄ fr. Joseph indio [written above an illegible obliterated name] q̄ aqui estuuo.' These notes give out after a few pages. The note about Camões' death, the words 'fr. Joseph indio' and the words on the title-page 'Miseremini mej salté vos amici mej', are all in the same fine hand.

(103) Juromenha, Document J (i. 171): 'ey por bem e me praz fazer merce a ana

de Sá mãe de Luis de Camões seis mil reis cada anno dos quinze mil reis de tença que vagarão pelo dito seu filho, avendo respeito aos seruiços que elle fez na India e no reino, e a ella Ana de sá ser muyto velha e pobre, e delle não ficar outro erdeiro,' &c. [May 31, 1582]; Document K (i. 172): '6,765 rs. no thesoureiro da chancelaria da casa do ciuel a Ana de Sá mãy de Luis de Camões que deos aja por outros tantos que ao dito seu filho erão deuidos do primeiro de janeiro do anno de DLXXX ate dez de Junho delle em que faleceo,' &c. [November 13, 1582]. See also *supra*, note 84 [Document L].

(104) 'Sempre vy os que menos pelejão bradar pola guerra' (*Lendas*, iv. 516).

(105) iv. 43: 'Na paz mostram coração, na guerra mostram as costas.'

(106) 'Parece-me que estava assi ordenado' (Sonnet 5, *Em prisões baixas*); 'o inexoravel e contrario destino' (*Vinde ca*); &c.

(107) 'tudo são misterios' (*Oitavas*, i); 'juizos incognitos de Deus' (*Lus.* v. 45); &c. His own buffetings by fortune are poignantly described in ii. 216: 'a fortuna fluctuosa a tamanhas miserias me compelle que de dar um só passo tenho medo.'

(108) Cf. *Lus.* vi. 95.

(109) They are all Paris or 'quite Italian' ('cuidão que trazem Paris . . . não ha mais italiano') iv. 43; cf. the *muito bem almoçados* of *Filodemo*, ii. 2.

(110) Sonnet 7 (*No tempo*).

(111) Sonnet 194 (ii. 98).

(112) 'nũa mão sempre a espada e noutra a penna' (*Lus.* vii. 79); 'nũa mão a penna e noutra a lança' (v. 96); 'eu que a penna tomei, tomei a espada' (Sonnet 192, *Agora toma a espada*).

(113) *Filodemo*, ii. 3 (iv. 349).

(114) 'era grande gastador, muito liberal e magnifico, não lhe duravam os bens temporaes mais que em quanto elle não via ocasião de os despender a seu belprazer' (Mariz); 'gastou liberalmente' (Severim de Faria).

(115) 'Em quanto eu aparelho um novo esprito e voz de cisne tal que o mundo espante . . . Ha de m'ouvir por vos o mundo todo.' (Ecl. V. (iii. 62), *A quem darei.*) Cf. ii. 273 (written probably much later).

(116) See J. M. Rodrigues, *Fontes dos Lusíadas*, in *O Instituto*, vol. liv (1904), &c., and the notes of Epiphanyo Dias and others to editions of the *Lusiads*. The word *Lusiadas*, which is of course masculine

and means 'Portuguese', is a Latinism, first coined, apparently, by Portuguese poets in Latin poems written in Camões' infancy.

(117) He more than once refers to the fact that he is singing of *puras verdades*.

(118) *Varias Rimas*, vol. i (1685), Prologo. The *todos* meant, no doubt, especially Faria e Sousa's friend Lope de Vega, who considered that 'the best of Camões' stanzas, marvellous as they are, *no yguala a sus mismas redondillas*'. (See C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos ap. *Circulo Camoniano*, vol. i, p. 69.)

(119) *Don Quixote*, Pt. II, cap. 58.

(120) Calderón refers to 'el gran Luis de Camoens' in *A secreto agravio secreta vinganza*. See C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos in *Circulo Camoniano*, vol. i, p. 94; Tirso de Molina, well acquainted with Portugal, in *Por el sotano y el torno* (*ib.*, p. 165). Herrera imitated Camões' poetry, and M. Adolphe Coster considers that his elegy, *Si el grave mal*, was addressed to Camões. Gracián speaks of the immortal Camões in his *Arte de Ingenio, Tratado de Agudeza* (1642), 1669 ed., p. 17. For the praise of Camões by Francisco Sanchez, el Brocense, see Severim de Faria, f. 123, v.

(121) *De l'Esprit des Lois*, liv. xxi, chap.

17. Samuel Johnson in 1772 spoke highly of the merit of 'the Lusiad'. He had intended to translate it.

(122) It is printed anonymously in the 1607 ed. of the *Rimas*. See Storck, *Luis' de Camoens sämtliche Werke*, Bd. ii, pp. 378-80.

(123) A. Ferreira de Vera, *Breves Louvores da Lingua Portuguesa* (1631), f. 89. The twelve editions might be 1572, 1572, 1584, 1591, 1597, 1607? 1609, 1609? 1612, 1613, 1626, 1631.

(124) Sir R. Burton, *Camoens* (1881), vol. i, p. 98.

(125) This was well brought out in the *Grundriss* (p. 321) by D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos.

(126) 'Vi por mandado da santa & geral inquisição estes dez Cantos dos Lusiadas de Luis de Camões, dos valerosos feitos em armas que os Portugueses fizeram em Asia & Europa, & não achey nellas cousa algũa escandalosa, nem contraria â fe & bõs costumes, somente me pareceo que era necessario aduertir os Lectores que o Autor pera encarecer a difficuldade da nauegação & entrada dos Portugueses na India, vsa de hũa fição dos Deoses dos Gentios. E ainda que sancto

Augustinho nas suas Retractações se retracte de ter chamado nos liuros que compos de Ordine, aas Musas Deosas Toda via como isto he Poesia & fingimento, & o Autor como poeta, não pretenda mais que ornar o estilo Poetico não tiuemos por inconueniente yr esta fabula dos Deoses na obra, conhecendoa por tal, & ficando sempre salua a verdade de nossa sancta fe, que todos os Deoses dos Gëtios sam Demonios. E por isso me pareceo o liuro digno de se imprimir, & o Autor mostra nelle muito engenho & muita erudição nas sciencias humanas. Em fe do qual assiney aqui.—Frey Bertholameu Ferreira.'

(127) See Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Kosmos* (Stuttgart, 1847), Bd. ii, pp. 58-61.

(128) *Lus.* x. 154: Estudo, Experiencia, Engenho.

(129) *Canção* vii (*Manda-me Amor que cante docemente*), ii. 200.

(130) *Carta* beginning *Desejei tanto* [1554]; Ecl. i. (iii. 5).

(131) *Vida*, p. 724.

(132) Cf. Sonnet 117 (*Não ha louvor*); Ecl. 5 (iii. 61); Sonnet 2 (*Eu cantarei de amor tão docemente*); *Oitavas*, viii (ii. 339); Eleg. 18 (iii. 225); Eleg. 20 (iii. 232).

(133) Dante, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II, cap. iv: 'Et ideo confiteatur eorum stultitia qui, arte scientiâque immunes, de solo ingenio confidentes, ad summa summe canenda prorumpunt; a tanta presumptuositate desistant et, si anseres naturali desidiâ sunt, nolint astripetam aquilam imitari.'

INDEX

	PAGES
Abrabanel (Juda)	x
Albuquerque (Afonso de) . . . xiii, 42, 88,	126
Albuquerque (Lianor de)	9
Alcaçova Carneiro (Pedro de)	48
Alecheluby	37
Almada (D. Caterina de)	20
Almeida (D. Francisco de)	131
Almeida (D. Francisco de), Captain General of Lamego	64
Almeida (D. Francisco de), Viceroy of India	88
Alvarez Cabral (Fernam)	123
Alvarez do Oriente (Fernam)	82
Andrade (Francisco de)	17, 80
Andrade Caminha (Pedro de)	60, 75, 92
Aragão (D. Francisca de)	28, 120
Ariosto (Lodovico)	76, 79
Aristotle	x
Ataide (D. Caterina de), granddaughter of 1st Conde de Vidigueira	21
Ataide (D. Caterina de), daughter of D. Alvaro de Sousa	21, 26
Ataide (D. Caterina de), daughter of D. Antonio de Lima	19, 21, 35, 69, 137
Ataide (D. Luis de)	125
Ataide (D. Vasco de)	131
Aubertin (J. J.)	ix, x
Augustine, Saint	147
Austria (Don Juan de)	80
Azevedo (Pedro de)	2, 109
Barreto (Francisco) xv, 39, 40, 46, 49, 51, 125, 128, 133.	

PAGES

Barreto Rolim (Pedro)	. 46, 56, 57, 133, 134
Barros (João de)	. . . xiii, 59, 75, 77
Belchior, Padre 41
Bernardez (Diogo)	. 59, 64, 75, 82, 111, 115
Bocanegra (D. Maria) 21
Boralho (Simão) 140
Borges (Gonçalo) 29, 31, 77, 121
Braga (Theophilo)	x, xix, xxi, 2, 9, 52, 57, 109, 113, 131.
Braganza (D. Constantina de)	. . 51, 52, 125
Braganza, James, Duke of 51
Browning (Elizabeth Barrett) 107
Buchanan (George) 11
Burton (Sir Richard)	. ix, xix, 43, 52, 89
Byron, George Gordon Noel, Lord vii

Calderón de la Barca (Pedro) . 81, 113, 146

Camanes. *See* Nunez Camanes.

Caminha. *See* Andrade Caminha.

Camões. *See also* Vaz de Camões.

Camões (D. Bento de) xiv, 2, 3

Camões (Luis Vaz de), his descent 1, 2; his birth-place 3, 4, 5; year of his birth 6, 7; childhood 7-10; at Coimbra 10-13; arrival at Lisbon 14; relations with his cousin Simão 16; with D. Antonio de Noronha 17; at Court 18; the Natércia tradition 19-22; his play *El Rei Seleuco* 22-24; leaves Lisbon 24; in the Ribatejo 25, 26; his military service at Ceuta 27; loses sight of right eye 27; returns to Lisbon 27; his life at Lisbon 28-9; joins in brawl in Rocio 29; is imprisoned 31; his release 31-32; departure for India 33; arrival at Goa 34; joins in expedition to coast of Malabar 36; goes to Red

Camões (*continued*)

Sea and Persian Gulf 37 ; return to Goa and literary activity there 38 ; produces his play *Filodemo* at Goa 39 ; is given appointment at Macao 40 ; possible visit to the Moluccas 42-45 ; at Macao 46 ; is shipwrecked on return voyage 47-50 ; at Malacca 50 ; returns to Goa 51 ; his arrest 52, 53 ; his life at Goa 54, 55 ; leaves for Mozambique 56 ; sojourn at Mozambique 57 ; leaves for Lisbon 58 ; arrival at Cascaes 59 ; publishes the *Lusiads* 61 ; receives pension 62 ; his illness at Lisbon 64 ; his death 65 ; his character 66-74 ; his *Lusiads* vii, 75-95 ; his imitators 80 ; his critics 81-83, 89-91 ; his style 92-3 ; his English translators ix ; as dramatist 96-97 ; as lyric poet 97-105. PAGES

<i>Cancioneiro da Vaticana</i>	108
Cascaes, Conde de	72
Castanheda. <i>See</i> Lopez de Castanheda.	
Castello Branco (Camillo)	56, 61
Castro (D. Inés de)	85, 94
Castro (D. João de)	88, 123
Caterina, Queen	23
Cervantes (Miguel de)	80
Chaucer (Geoffrey)	11
Chiado (Antonio Ribeiro)	12, 22, 60, 114
Clenardus (Nicolaus)	11
Coresma (Miguel)	142
Corrêa (Luis Franco). <i>See</i> Franco Corrêa.	
Corrêa (Gaspar) xiii, 42, 50, 52, 68, 73, 126, 131	
Corrêa (Manuel)	xvii, 4, 6, 40, 33
Corte Real (Jeronimo)	86
Costa (José Maria Augusto da)	133
Coster (Adolphe)	147
Coutinho (D. Francisco), Conde de Redondo 52,	
53, 54, 55, 125, 129, 130.	

	PAGES
Coutinho (D. Gonçalo)	66
Couto (Diogo do) xii, xiv, xv, xix, 5, 6, 21, 30, 38, 40, 48, 52, 57, 64, 72, 76, 83, 97, 98, 123, 125, 126, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137	
Crasbeeck (Lourenço)	141, 142
Dante Alighieri	20, 101, 103, 107
Diaz da Camara (Ruy)	141
Duarte, King	6, 7
Duff (R. F.)	ix
Emden (Joannes de)	55
Ercilla y Zúñiga (Alonso)	80
Falcão de Resende (André)	60
Fanshawe (Sir Richard)	ix, 47
Faria Severim (Manuel de). <i>See</i> Severim de Faria	
Faria e Sousa (Manuel) viii, xi, xvii, 3, 6, 7, 19, 20, 28, 40, 43, 44, 76, 80, 115, 147.	
Fernandez (Domingos)	xvii, 4, 5, 109
Fernando, Infante	95
Ferreira (Antonio)	12, 59, 75
Ferreira (Bertholameu)	149
Ferreira de Vasconcellos (Jorge)	xii, 12, 18
Ferreira de Vera (Alvaro)	83
Francis of Borgia, Saint	120
Frauco Corrêa (Luis)	83
Freitas (Jordão de)	48, 128
Frere (John Hookham)	144
Galvão (Antonio)	59, 73
Gama (Paulo da)	87, 90
Gama (D. Vasco da), first Conde de Vidigueira 2, 6, 34, 43, 66, 67, 78, 81, 84, 86, 87, 89, 90, 95	
Gandavo. <i>See</i> Magalhães Gandavo.	
Goes (Damião de)	60

INDEX

155

	PAGES
Gomez de Azevedo (Francisco)	82
Gracián (Baltasar)	81
Grave (João)	133
Greene (Robert)	12
Gregory XIII	63
Guidiccioni (Guido)	101
Hebreo (Leon). <i>See</i> Abrabanel.	
Hemans (Felicia)	107
Henry, Prince, the Navigator	94, 95
Henry VIII of England	87
Herculano e Araujo (Alexandre)	26
Herrera (Fernando de)	81, 147
Holland, Lord	65, 144
Homer	vii, 76
Humboldt (Wilhelm von)	95
Ilchester, Earl of	144
Indio (Fray José)	65, 144
Jesus (Frei Thomé de)	17
João, Prince	15, 18, 19, 28, 30, 35, 38, 109
João II	43, 86
João III	17, 121
Johnson (Samuel)	148
Joseph, Fray. <i>See</i> Indio (Fray José).	
Juromenha, João Antonio de Lemos Pereira de Lacerda, Visconde de	viii, xviii, 11, 26, 43, 52, 110, 131, 139, 140.
Lasso de la Vega (Garcí)	vii, 98
Leitão de Andrade (Miguel)	15
Leoni (F. A.)	119
Lianor, Queen Consort of Fernando I	1
Lianor, Queen Consort of João II	24
Liechtenstein, Princess Marie	144

AND MONOGRAPHS

IV

	PAGES
Lima (D. Antonio de)	21
Linhares, Conde de. <i>See</i> Noronha (D. Francisco de).	
Linschoten (Jan Huygen van)	xiii
Lobo (Francisco Alexandre), Bishop of Viseu	xviii, 110
Lopez (Fernam)	108
Lopez de Castanheda (Fernam)	xiii, 59
Lopez de Villalobos (Francisco)	12
Lopez Leitão (João)	131
Luso	87
Macedo e Sá (Anna de) 2, 4, 8, 9, 60, 65, 111, 132, 143, 144.	
Machado de Azevedo (Manuel)	109
Magalhães Gandavo (Pedro de)	xvii, 63, 82, 83, 97
Manuel, King	21, 23, 86, 92, 139
Maria, Infanta	21, 69, 137
Mariz (Antonio de)	5
Mariz (Pedro de)	xii, xvii, 4, 41, 46, 57, 63, 73, 112, 117, 126, 127, 134
Martyres (Frei Bertholameu de)	xv
Mascarenhas (D. Pedro de)	38, 39, 125
Matheus, Morgado de. <i>See</i> Sousa Botelho.	
Mello (Francisco de)	131
Mendez Pinto (Fernam)	xiii, 39, 41, 42, 59, 73
Mendonça (D. João de)	125
Meneses (D. Duarte de)	87
Meneses (D. Fernando de)	39
Meneses (D. Pedro de)	87
Meneses (D. Tello de)	54
Mesquita de Perestrello (Manuel)	123
Michaëlis de Vasconcellos (Carolina).	xx, 108, 111, 120, 123, 146, 147.

INDEX

157

	PAGES
Mickle (William Julius)	ix, II, 127
Milton (John)	II, 90, 107
Mitchell (Sir T. L.)	ix
Mocquet (Jean)	xiii
Moniz (Pero)	3
Montemôr (Jorge de)	59
Montesquieu (Charles Louis de Secondat)	81
Moraes (Francisco de)	17, 60
Moura (Jorge de)	131
Musgrave (Thomas Moore)	ix
Noronha (D. Afonso de)	36, 125
Noronha (D. Antão de)	30, 55, 125
Noronha (D. Antonio de)	30
Noronha (D. Antonio de), son of Conde de Linhares	17, 18, 30, 35, 38.
Noronha (D. Francisco de), Conde de Linhares	17, 30
Noronha (D. Violante de), Condessa de Linhares	17, 18
Nunez Camanes (Juan)	108
Orta (Garcia da)	55, 97
Osorio (Jeronimo), Bishop of Silves	92
Pacheco Pereira (Duarte)	88
Pedro, Condestavel D.	109
Pedro I of Castille	I
Pereira Brandão (Luis)	80
Pereira de Ocem (Manuel)	107
Perez de Camões (Vasco)	1
Perez de Oliva (Hernan)	12
Petrarca (Francesco)	vii, viii, x, 20, 98, 101, 107
Pinto Ribeiro (João)	20, 76
Plato	x
Plautus	12

AND MONOGRAPHS

IV

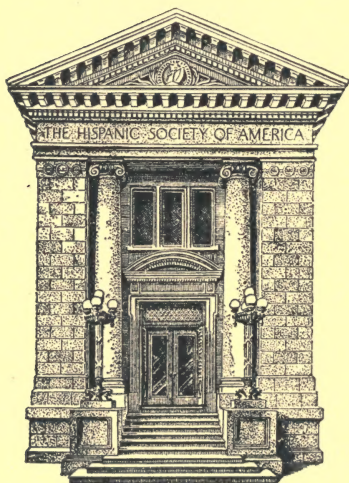
	PAGES
Pope (Alexander)	II
Portugal (D. Manuel de)	60, 61, 138
Prestes (Antonio)	60
Pyrard (François)	xiii
Quillinan (Edward)	ix
Ramalho Ortigão (José Duarte)	II
Redondo, Conde de. <i>See</i> Coutinho (D. Francisco).	
Resende (Garcia de)	75
Resende (Luis André de)	78
Ribeiro (Bernardim)	xiii, 137
Rodrigues (José Maria)	xx, 21, 140, 146
Rodrigues Xavier de Magalhães (Bento José)	26
Rodriguez Coutinho (Miguel)	50, 53, 129
Rodriguez Lobo (Francisco)	82, III
Rodriguez Lobo Soropita (Fernam)	83
Rodriguez Silveira (Francisco)	xiii
Roiz. <i>See</i> Rodriguez.	
Ronsard (Pierre de)	6
Rosario (Frei João do)	26
Rubens	88
Rufo Gutierrez (Juan)	80
Sá (Anna de)	9
Sá (D. Garcia de)	9
Sá (D. Lianor de)	9
Sá de Camões (Luis de). <i>See</i> Camões.	
Sá de Miranda (Francisco de)	59, 75, 76, 104, 109.
Sá e Macedo (Anna de). <i>See</i> Macedo e Sá.	
Sanchez (Francisco), el Brocense	147
Santa Maria (Frei Gabriel de)	2, 109

	PAGES
Santa Maria (Frei Nicolau de)	2
Santillana, Marqués de	109, 130
S. Thomé, Bishop of	31
Scaliger (J.)	11
Schlegel (Friedrich von)	105
Scipio Africanus (Publius)	33
Sebastian, King 56, 63, 64, 66, 78, 79, 84, 85, 89, 98, 109.	
Sebastian, Saint	63
Severim de Faria (Gaspar)	120
Severim de Faria (Manuel) xvii, 5, 39, 51, 62, 110, 127	
Shakespeare (William)	12, 67, 107
Silva (Innocencio Francisco da)	xxi
Silva Dias (Augusto Epiphanio da) xx, 78, 145	
Silveira (Heitor da)	59, 131, 138
Silves, Bishop of. <i>See</i> Osorio.	
Soares de Brito (João)	83
Sousa (D. Alvaro de)	21, 26
Sousa (Leonel de)	48, 49, 128, 129
Sousa (D. Lianor de)	9, 95
Sousa Botelho Moura Vasconcellos (D. José Maria), Morgado de Matheus xviii, 65. 127.	
Sousa Monteiro (José de)	127
Sousa Sepulveda (D. Manuel de)	9
Southey (Robert)	137
Spenser (Edmund)	107
Storck (Wilhelm) ix, xix, xx, 2, 7, 17, 22, 23, 25, 26, 30, 43, 44, 47, 50, 52, 53, 56, 62, 77, 102, 109, 113, 127, 137.	
Strangford, Viscount	101, 107
Tasso (Torquato)	10, 81, 95, 107
Teive (Diogo de)	75

	PAGES
Thomas (Henry)	143
Tirso de Molina	81, 147
Trancoso (Gonçalo Fernandez)	59, 141
Ulysses	87
Vasconcellos (Joaquim de)	xx
Vasconcellos (Manuel de)	39
Vaz da Gama (Guiomar)	2, 111
Vaz de Camões (Antão)	1, 111
Vaz de Camões (Bento)	xiv, 2, 3, 5, 15, 109
Vaz de Camões (João)	1, 111
Vaz de Camões (Luis). <i>See</i> Camões.	
Vaz de Camões (Simão), father of Luis	xviii, 2, 4, 111, 120, 131, 132.
Vaz de Camões (Simão), cousin of Luis	xviii, 3, 15, 16, 28, 30, 35, 60, 109.
Vega Carpio (Lope Felix de)	81, 147
Vicente (Gil)	11, 24, 97, 104
Vimieiro, Conde de	108
Virgil	vii, 67, 76, 89, 91
Viriatus	85
Viseu, Bishop of. <i>See</i> Lobo.	
Viseu, Duke of. <i>See</i> Henry, Prince.	
Voltaire (François Arouet)	43, 81, 89, 127
Wordsworth (William)	107



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